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ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE

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ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE

AN ESSAY TOWARDS REUNION

BY
SPENCER JONES, M.A.
RECTOR OF BATSFORD WITH MORETON-IN-MARSH

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY
THE RIGHT HON. VISCOUNT HALIFAX

SECOND EDITION

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UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
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THE HOLY SEE

OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IF in the following pages I speak for the most part in the first person, it is because I am speaking only for myself. I have to shelter myself, therefore, under the well-known saying, that in questions of this kind egotism is true modesty; and I have the highest sanction for doing so.

Towards the close of his second *Eirenicon*, which was given to the world in the shape of a letter addressed in the first instance to Cardinal Newman, Dr. Pusey is careful to explain his position thus: "I could not even conjecture what its effects would be [the allusion is to the first *Eirenicon*]. I could only commit it to God, who, I hoped, had taught me to turn into an *eirenicon* what, at the earnest desire of others, I had begun as a defence. . . . But God had, I trusted, put it into my heart to do it. . . . I wish in this new *Eirenicon* to be understood as speaking in the name of no one but my single self. I have consulted no one."

And so in my own case, and in my own small measure, although the Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom has been in existence now for some forty years, I have never had the honour of belonging to it, nor have I had the privilege of an introduction to its present Master.

I was invited on one occasion to preach for the society; and the secretary did me the kindness of allowing me to make some use of the late Master's pamphlet for the earlier pages of my last chapter; but otherwise he knows nothing of the line I am following in this Essay. While as regards the English Church Union, I did not belong to the society until two years

ago ; I have only had two opportunities of being present at its meetings ; and I have made no attempt to ascertain how far my views on this subject may be pleasing or displeasing to its members.

And so once more in regard to the name of Viscount Halifax which occurs in more than one place and in more than one connexion, all that I know of his lordship's convictions and principles has already appeared in print under his own name and therefore is known also to others.

My thoughts have been running upon the subject of Reunion for some thirteen years ; and I have made some attempt to analyse what I think may be described as the chronic difficulty of the Anglican Church ; until at the last I feel constrained to speak.

There is, too, at the present moment, a special reason for putting on record any thoughts I may have been allowed to have and the results of any work I may have been allowed to do in this cause.

It seems only just now to be dawning upon some minds that a society whose members are suffered to say anything or do anything that they will is scarcely likely to attract to itself any one in particular.

This must not be mistaken for the language of disrespect ; I am calling attention to facts, and facts are our masters ; and I say it deliberately that one principal reason, as I believe, for the falling off in the number of candidates for Ordination, and for the general indifference in regard to the whole question of religion, is to be found in the bewildering confusions and contradictions that have been not merely suffered but even welcomed in the Anglican Church.

We are gravely assured that a National Church should be a representative Church—that is, a Church of many parties ; and we are further told what it is that the English people will have and what they will not have,—as if, indeed, the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ came out from us and did not rather come to us, and as though variations, even when they take the

acute form of contradictions, were to be regarded as a subject of congratulation rather than as ■ surpassing evil.

Now, if it is a good thing, if it conduces to the spread of the Gospel, that families should be divided, that parishes should be thrown into confusion, and that in many cases the parish priest should have to face the alternative of seriously disturbing the convictions of his people by teaching them what he believes to be true or of keeping his own convictions in the background in order to leave them at rest—if this is a good thing, then is the enterprise of Reunion an evil thing.

But this is not a good thing; will any one attempt to maintain that it is good for religion to be the one subject that must necessarily be avoided; and that, too, within a religious household itself?

Our Saviour warned us that His Gospel would divide us, but in what sense? Surely in the sense that one would accept it and another reject it; and not in the sense that believers in one and the same Gospel would spend their entire lives in quarrelling and disputing as to what the Gospel is.

And if such contradictions are evil, there is something else which is worse; and that is, the attempt to prove to us that they are good.

There is no sanction in the Gospel surely for saying any such thing. There we see a simple picture enough; a society of men believing what they are taught, and abiding in the fellowship of those who teach it; and in regard to which a message is proclaimed to the world and it is plainly told that it must either take it or leave it, and that he who does receive it will be saved, whereas he who rejects it will be damned.

I will not here anticipate what I have attempted to say in the body of this Essay; but will merely add that I have made no attempt to conceal my own convictions or to keep out of sight the bias of my own mind. This must not be taken to mean that I allow myself anywhere to be consciously unfair; on the contrary, I think this is the fairest way in which to state the question at the outset, in order that the reader may

be on his guard from the very first; and that a healthy prejudice in his mind may serve to balance the evident bias in my own. My general aim is to contribute materials for discussion, and to do something towards restoring the great doctrine of unity to that position in the context of Christian thought which properly belongs to it; and the leading idea throughout is the principle of proportion as applied to any progressive movement that may arise in the direction of Reunion with the Holy See.

And although I have followed the great example of Dr. Pusey in consulting no one as to the wisdom or not of writing what I have written, I have to acknowledge with deep gratitude the courtesy and kindness of those friends, whether Anglican or Roman, who have provided me with evidence which otherwise would have been out of my reach.

I am not preaching a sermon to a general congregation, nor addressing myself to the general reader, but my words are directed to that special class of persons who have been led to sympathise with the cause I have at heart. And since, happily for us, a period of unification appears to have set in, and Churchmen of various schools have seen their way at last and at least to meet together in conference and so far to recognise one another as brethren within the mystical Body of Christ, it is possible that my own experiences may prove of some use to others.

For the rest, if the unity of the Church is destined to become one of the commanding and controlling thoughts of the New Century, words recently uttered by the late deeply revered Bishop of Durham may here be set down in order to give a certain stamp and seal to this project.

"If I were to choose a motto," he said in his annual charge to his clergy (1900), "If I were to choose a motto for the coming age I should say that its work and its aim lies in applying to every relation of life the truth which is now dawning upon us, 'Ye are all one man in Christ Jesus.'"

MORETON-IN-MARSH,

January 1, 1902.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN this new edition of the Essay some alterations have been made in the arrangement of the parts; more especially in Chapters I. and V. In the former, I have made some attempt to explain, as well as to lay stress upon, the statement that Rome cannot formally change; and in the latter, the sections dealing with Infallibility and the subject of Indulgences have been almost entirely rewritten. The historical chapter which appeared at the end of the former edition has been struck out, and new material inserted in several places.

It only remains for me to repeat what I said in my former preface, that I am speaking only for myself, and offering what I say as a contribution towards the discussion of a subject which is now occupying and exercising many minds. Meantime the question of Jurisdiction is acknowledged to be one of the problems of the moment, and the contention in this Essay is that the question of Jurisdiction resolves itself ultimately into the question of the Holy See; and that the same freedom must be allowed and will be demanded in the consideration of this aspect as is conceded to questions relating to Dissent, and even to the graver questions relating to fundamental articles of the Faith.

MORETON-IN-MARSH,
September 5, 1902.

INTRODUCTION

THE following pages are an attempt to bring home to men's minds and consciences the injury which is done to the Christian cause by the religious divisions of Christendom, and the duty incumbent on all who call themselves Christians to do everything in their power to put an end to them.

It might have been thought that to insist on any such duty was needless. If one thing could have been supposed nearer than another to the hearts and consciences of those who claim to be the disciples of Him who came down from heaven to reunite in one holy fellowship the scattered children of God, it would surely have been the desire to be agreed, at least in all spiritual matters, with all who claim the same Lord and Master, and profess the same religion as themselves.

That it should have been found possible to acquiesce in a state of things which assumes that it is a normal condition for Christians to refuse to communicate with one another in precisely those matters which separate them off from the outside world, would certainly have seemed antecedently inconceivable. Experience, however, shows that it is not so. To the majority of the followers of Jesus Christ the divisions of Christendom are a matter of no real concern. They accept them as a matter of course. Even good people, to whom religion within the limits of their own communion is a subject of real interest, never appear to give the fact of their separation in religious matters from others a thought. Such separation is nothing more to them than an accidental and occasional inconvenience

in private or public life. They may indeed talk of the divisions of Christendom as a thing to be deplored, but the sense that they are intolerable, that our religious quarrels are quarrels which must be made up, that God should be left no peace till He has brought all men to be again of one mind in His Holy Church, never even occurs to them.

It is needless to point out how absolutely inconsistent such a habit of mind is with the essential requirements of Christianity. It is indeed the direct negation of the clause in the Creed, "I believe in One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church," and to reject or to ignore one clause in the Creed is to imperil them all. What is it which makes such an attitude of mind possible? To ascertain the cause may be to suggest the remedy.

Two causes, I think, may be assigned for this indifference. First, the really astonishing way in which it is possible for men to acquiesce from habit or custom in positions entirely inconsistent with their real belief and principles; and secondly, the settled conviction entertained by so many that Reunion is not a practical question, and that any attempt to heal the divisions of the Christian family is essentially hopeless.

Let me emphasise these points. Our present state of division is indefensible in theory. As Christians, we are pledged to the belief that no man liveth or dieth to himself. We are members of a Body. "I in them, and they in Me, that they may be one in Us," are the words our Lord uses to describe our relation to Him and to one another. Each member of this Body is in a definite and necessary relation to the whole. The action of each member of the Body, and what he is, does, suffers, is the property of all. The key to all history, and what gives it its essential unity, is its bearing on the purposes of God for the members of His Church as a whole. What explains the object of our individual life, and what invests it with any real and permanent value, is the realisation and accomplishment of that share in the work of the whole which has been allotted to each one of us. Union

with Christ, union with one another in Christ, and the discharge of the duties which flow from such union,—this is the sum of Christian life and duty. Contrast this with the actual fact, as it is exhibited in the attitude of the Christian world in regard to the one great act of Christian worship. Our Lord, in the very crisis of His earthly life, as the final expression of His love, and as His parting bequest to His disciples, instituted the mysteries of His Body and Blood in order to provide those whom He calls His friends, throughout the whole of their earthly pilgrimage, and until faith should be swallowed up in sight, with the means of the closest communion with Himself and with one another. And how do we treat this unspeakable gift which was to bridge the distance between heaven and earth, and preserve in the bonds of an undying unity the members of the One Body? We acquiesce, apparently with complete content, in a state of things in which participation together in the great act by which we have communion with our Lord and with one another is impossible, and we do not even seem to realise that it is not perfectly natural, that Christians professing to love the same Lord should be unable to communicate at the same altar. Our Lord prayed that His disciples might be one in order that the world might be convinced of His mission. Far from this being the case, is it not nearer the truth that the present condition of Christendom is the first excuse which is given for disbelief in Christianity altogether? Belief rests, in the first instance, upon the witness of others: “that which we have heard and seen, that declare we unto you;” but what becomes of the faith itself, if those who have to deliver it are not agreed among themselves as to what it is? It declines first into individual opinion, which a man may without blame accept or not as he thinks fit,—that is the first stage; and the next is, that it evaporates altogether. To acquiesce in divisions about religion is to acquiesce in what, to a greater or less degree, tends to the destruction of religion altogether; and there can be no greater duty imposed upon all who believe that God has made a revelation to man

than to agree upon what that revelation is. It is the one condition upon which, in the long run, the maintenance of that revelation depends.

As to the practical evils, which result from religious divisions, they are too obvious to be insisted upon. There is no good work, religious or social, which would not be facilitated if the divisions, which at present divide Christendom, could be healed. Take the question of the religious education of the country. The whole of the difficulties and controversies which at present beset the cause of religious education are due to the religious differences which prevail among Christians. Consider the comparative failure of missionary enterprises, the fact that after 1900 years of Christianity, the greater part of the world is still unconverted ; the alienation from all religious influence of the great masses of the population in England, the comparatively low standard of life in which the Christian world is content to acquiesce ; the little hold the supernatural has upon so many—and say whether for these, and numberless other evils, the divisions of Christendom, and the results which those divisions have produced, are not largely responsible.

In the face of such facts, and they are facts which cannot be denied, how comes it that the greater number are so indifferent, even hostile, to any attempt to heal the divisions of the Christian family ? Largely, I believe, that they have no hope as to the success of any such enterprise. Reunion, they say, is a beautiful dream, but a dream. He must indeed be sanguine who believes that, on one side, the separated Protestant communions of the world are ever likely to come back to the ancient creed of Christendom, or that, on the other, the Roman Church will ever contemplate Reunion, except on terms of an absolute submission to herself, inconsistent with principles held alike by the Church of England and the ancient Churches of the East.

Is this really the case ? In regard to the Nonconformist bodies in England, I believe that if Churchmen would only be true to their own principles, if they would deal boldly and

fearlessly with what is *essential* and what is *non-essential*; if they would remember that because we believe in the Sacraments of the Church we need not therefore deny the workings of God's grace by and through other agencies, and were to ask, in the interests of peace, unity, and truth, those who had separated from the Church to consent to legitimatise their position and make it secure from our point of view as well as from their own, much might be done. It is not retractions in regard to the past, but affirmations in regard to the present, that are wanted.

Dr. Parker, of the City Temple, some time ago, preached a noble sermon on this point, and well indicated the spirit in which such a subject ought to be treated. What is wanted is that all pride and self-assertion, everything but a desire for peace and truth, should be put away on both sides, and that *mutatis mutandis*, and allowing for the essential differences between the two cases, we should make the sort of approaches to our Nonconformist brethren in England, and treat them in the same spirit, that we should wish our Roman brethren to adopt towards us.

How can any one despair of Reunion after reading the noble Address given by Dr. Maclaren on "Evangelical Mysticism," at Edinburgh, in the October of this year (1901)?

In regard to Reunion with Rome (and the following remarks apply in their degree to the question of Reunion with the Orthodox Eastern Church), I cannot believe that it is as difficult as it is thought. No doubt, if we dwell on the ignorance and prejudices which exist on both sides, Reunion seems impossible. But, on the other hand, it is just the amount of ignorance and prejudice which encumbers the question that makes it possible to hope for the best and largest results, if both sides could once be induced to seriously consider the subject.

The greater the amount of misunderstanding, the greater scope there is for explanations. It is just because so much is claimed on both sides over and above what is strictly *de fide*

that—given a real desire for peace, given a determination to allow the widest possible latitude in regard to all that was not strictly of obligation, given a recognition that we may believe much to be true which it is not necessary to insist upon as terms of communion, and that we are not bound to object to much which others may believe and do, because it does not commend itself to ourselves—that given, I say, these things, there is a much greater hope of Reunion than is generally thought.

Let me illustrate what I mean by three crucial instances, in order to show what great possibilities of explanation there are in regard to matters supposed to be insuperable difficulties in the way of Reunion.

Take the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, which is matter always brought forward in certain quarters when Reunion is mentioned. To suppose that it pleased God, in view of the merits of her Son, to extend to His blessed Mother in a greater degree the same grace which we know from the words of the Scripture it pleased Him to confer on St. John the Baptist, is surely not a proposition which of itself need alarm any one. St. John Baptist, we are told, was full of the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb. Is there, in the light of that fact, any difficulty in believing that the Blessed Virgin may by God's grace have been filled with the Holy Ghost from the moment of her conception?

No doubt the difficulty of the authority to impose such a belief remains; but even here a Church which, like the Church of England, has imposed thirty-nine Articles, containing a variety of propositions outside the Creeds, on her clergy, as statements not to be contradicted, need surely not scruple for the sake of peace to acquiesce in a doctrine which can claim the support of so large a portion of the Western Church.

Take, again, the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass. Why is it necessary to insist on fastening upon Rome interpretations of those doctrines opposed to

the teaching of the Church of England when there are others which can be reconciled with it?

There was a careful statement of the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice in the *Tablet* of July 28th, 1894,¹ which, I will venture to say, no careful Anglican theologian would deny. It is, in fact, to quote one example, identical with doctrine laid down by the present Bishop of Salisbury in a letter to the Archbishop of Utrecht.

In regard to transubstantiation, there is a statement of the doctrine by Cardinal Manning, to be found on p. 31, vol. ii. of his *Life*, which differs absolutely in nothing from the doctrine of the Real Presence as taught by accredited English divines.²

¹ "If the principle of *Extra Ecclesiam nulla salus* is not to be interpreted by Protestant presuppositions that even 'invincible' ignorance is culpable, still less is the theological use of the word Sacrifice, which is, of course, based on its older meaning, to be interpreted *ex post facto* by subsequent modern colloquialisms. The *actus offerendi*, or act of offering, is in the typical Mosaic law composed of three parts or phases: (1) the dedication of the oblation by the laying on of hands, which was a presenting or offering of it to Jehovah, when considered in relation with what was to follow; (2) the actual immolation, which was sacrificial, not necessarily in itself, but in connexion with what had gone before and what was to come after; and (3) the liturgical pleading of the *res oblata* the symbolical bringing of it before Jehovah as a *zicarôn*, *μνημεῖον*, or memorial, by the sprinkling of the blood and the consuming and ascending in the fire of the altar. These three, taken together, constituted the total composite act of sacrifice. Each was sacrificial in its relation to the others; so that the Eucharistic sacrifice, in which, as corresponding to the third stage, there is *per se* no pain or effort, as in the first and second, is called a relative and a commemorative 'sacrifice'" (*Tablet*, July 28, 1894. Art. "Anglicans on Holy Scripture").

² "1. The Council of Trent says that our Lord's humanity, *secundum naturalem existendi modum*, i.e., in its proper dimensions, etc., is at the right hand of God only.

"2. The Church therefore distinguishes *natural* presence from supernatural or *sacramental* presence.

"Of the modes of this sacramental presence it defines nothing. It is supernatural.

"3. The presence, being supernatural, is not a subject of natural criteria or natural operations.

If theologians like Dr. Pusey, Bishop Forbes, and Mr. Keble have felt that the decisions of the Council of Trent and our own formularies are not irreconcilable, surely it is a duty to see how far they can be reconciled ; and if it is said that the Vatican Council has destroyed the possibility of agreement, no doubt it has made a change, and a great change, but the question is, whether it has made *such* a change as makes all negotiations impossible.

In the first place, it is clear that the results of the Vatican Council are not what infallibilists and anti-infallibilists thought

"4. Within the sphere of natural phenomena and effects there is no change in the consecrated elements.

"But a change does take place in a sphere into which no natural criteria, such as sense, can penetrate.

"Of this we are assured by the words of Revelation, '*Hoc est,*' etc. The Church is concerned only to affirm this supernatural fact, as Vasquez says, '*ut sint vera Christi verba.*' Beyond this affirmation the Church affirms nothing.

"5. It has no jurisdiction in science or philosophy. The office of the Church is Divine and unerring within the sphere of the original revelation.

"But ontology and metaphysics are no part of it.

"There are many philosophies about 'matter' and 'substance,' etc., but none are authoritative. They are many because no one has been defined. . . ." (Letter to Archdeacon Wilberforce, vol. i. of *Life*, p. 31.)

With this compare Cardinal Newman: "The Catholic doctrine is as follows. Our Lord is *in loco* in heaven, not in the same sense in the Sacrament. He is present in the Sacrament only in substance, *substantive*, and substance does not require or imply the occupation of place. But if place is excluded from the idea of the Sacramental Presence, therefore division or distance from heaven is excluded also, for distance implies a measurable interval, and such there cannot be except between places. Moreover, if the idea of distance is excluded, therefore is the idea of motion. Our Lord, then, neither descends from heaven upon our altars, nor moves when carried in procession. The visible species change their position, but He does not move. He is in the Holy Eucharist after the manner of a spirit. We do not know how; we have no parallel to the 'how' in our experience. We can only say that He is present not according to the natural manner of bodies, but *sacramentally*. His presence is substantial, spirit-wise, sacramental, an absolute mystery, not against reason, however, but against imagination, and must be received by faith." (Note, *Via Media*, ed. 1877, vol. ii., p. 221.)

at first. It was believed that the infallibility asserted for the Head of the Church was an infallibility separate from the Church. The Archbishop of St. Louis, recording Archbishop Manning's action at the Vatican Council, writes :—"Nullum dubium de Pontificis infallibilitate personali, separata et absoluta, aut ipse (Archbishop Manning) habet, aut aliis ut habeant permittere vult. Eam doctrinam esse fidei asserit." Archbishop Manning's comment on these words is, "No doubt ;" but if the infallibility claimed for the Pope is not, as Cardinal Manning and Mr. W. G. Ward thought, separate from the Church, but the infallibility of the Head as spokesman of the mind of the Church, in regard to any point contained in the deposit of the faith, to ascertain which he is bound to take all necessary means, so that it is not the infallibility of the Head as separate from the Episcopate, but of the Head in union with the Episcopate that is asserted by the Council, then, though I do not say that many and grave difficulties will not remain, I do say that they are not such difficulties as need preclude hope of fruitful negotiation and eventual reconciliation.

The visible head of the Church, after consultation with the universal Episcopate, determining what is the tradition of the Church, is one method of arriving at the truth, just as a Council is another. How the truth is arrived at is a detail ; the essential thing is that it should be the mind of the whole Church which is expressed in either case. A council derives its œcumenical character from universal consent ; so what is really the voice of the whole body, in whatever particular way it may utter its speech, is the voice of the Holy Ghost. In the first case it is expressed through the intervention of its visible head, speaking for the body previously consulted ; in the second, through the Head and the Body speaking together.

This, however, at least is certain—that if we think the claims of the Pope have been exaggerated, the surest way of restricting them within their proper limits is freely to concede

all that, as primate of Christendom, he can historically claim ; and on this point I am bound to say that I do not think English theologians as a rule are fair or just. They seem, for the most part, so afraid of the consequences of allowing a primacy by virtue of our Lord's commission to St. Peter and his successors, that they weaken the real strength of their position by refusing to admit much which cannot in fairness or without special pleading be denied.

On the other hand, a conviction that the Church of England is responsible for teaching, and occupies a position which in the interests of truth and of Christendom at large she is bound to maintain, will enable us to be perfectly just and candid in regard to Roman claims on this and kindred subjects. It is such a just and candid appreciation of what Rome can rightly claim and the rest of Christendom can rightly admit which is attempted in this volume.

In saying this, however, it must not be assumed that I necessarily identify myself with all the positions asserted in this essay. It is possible, it is even probable, that I might be disposed to criticise some of them. But even so I should be untrue to my deepest convictions if I did not welcome any such attempt as that of which this volume is the expression. It is surely eminently desirable that what any one feels on so important a subject should be freely and fearlessly stated. It is only by such a discussion frankly undertaken that what ought to be admitted on both sides will come to be acknowledged. No question on which the Episcopate is divided can be held to be finally closed, and it is only by a candid consideration of the points at issue that an agreement can hope to be arrived at.

That there is need for such enquiry no one can surely deny. The history of the Church of England is not one which enables us to assert, unless we wilfully shut our eyes to facts, that there is nothing since our separation from Rome which needs excuse, or which negatives the necessity of an enquiry into our relations with other Churches. To have preserved

the Faith in the hearts of her people, to have been faithful in practice as in profession, is the glory of any National Church. Can it be said with truth, in view of the religious condition of the great masses of our population, that the Church of England has the right to claim, either to have preserved the Faith amongst all those for whom she is responsible, or to have herself practised what she professes? What is the belief and practice of the majority of her own children? What proportion of the population of England and Wales is outside her pale? Why is it that the principle of authority in religious matters is so little regarded in England? Is there any truth in M. de Maistre's celebrated saying, "that precious as the Church of England is in many respects, she occupies the position of a rebel preaching obedience"?

Enquiries such as these cannot be neglected—others will make them for us if we decline to make them for ourselves—they have to be faced, and to be faced fearlessly, and without fear of the consequences. The present volume is an attempt to face some of them. A consideration of them undertaken by those who realise in any adequate degree the evils of disunion and the permanent duty of seeking the things which make for the peace of the Church must be profitable. In regard to our relations with the Roman Church, with which this volume is more particularly concerned, I cannot but believe that the spirit in which its pages are conceived is one which, if generally adopted, could hardly fail to bring about eventually such a change of attitude on the part both of Rome and England as would make Reunion possible—and that without compromising essential principles.

One thing, however, is essential if we wish for Reunion; the Church of England must be true to its own principles. Dr. Pusey, whose unflinching loyalty to the Church of England none will question, consistently maintained that the appeal made by the Church of England was to antiquity and the general consent of the Fathers.

The consent of the Fathers is treated by the Creed of

Pius IV. as equivalent to the mind of the Church. That Creed which expresses the corporate belief of the Roman Church and binds every individual within her fold has this clause, "*Sacram Scripturam juxta eum sensum quem tenuit et tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Sacrarum Scripturarum admitto, nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimum consensum Patrum accipiam et interpretabor.*"

The Creed not only binds the Roman Church to accept what the Church *holds*, but to what it has held. The Roman Church is as absolutely bound to an appeal to consensus—to the general mind of the Church—in regard to matters of faith as the Church of England.

Leo XIII., in the Bull "*Satis Cognitum*," refers to the teaching and practice of St. Cyprian and St. Augustine as illustrating the relations which should exist between the Holy See and the rest of the Church; nor does the Archbishop of York do otherwise, when he states that "England could never hesitate, in regard to the Papacy, to admit whatever can be shown to be in accordance with the will of our blessed Lord and the teaching of the Primitive Church."¹

Surely such principles if faithfully adhered to, surely such an appeal if honestly carried out, should make Reunion possible. As was stated by the Bishop of Exeter in his paper at the Brighton Church Congress, we know more of antiquity, we are better able to judge of much that has been in dispute than the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The controversies of the twentieth century will not be fought on precisely the same grounds or under the same conditions as those of the sixteenth. The results of historical and biblical criticism have to be reckoned with on both sides. Writers like Bishop Stubbs, Dr. Pastor, Bishop Creighton, the Abbé Duchesne, to mention names known to every one, have done much to put things into new perspective, and with a new

¹ Letter to Abbé Portal, March 27th, 1896.

perspective a fresh aspect is given to controverted points often leading to unexpected results.

There is another most encouraging feature of the present time which must not be forgotten, and that is the disposition displayed on all sides to consider the subjects of past controversy in a wide and generous spirit, to allow for the circumstances of the time in which they arose, and to guard against reading the present into the past. Dr. Moberly's admirable volume on the *Ministerial Priesthood*, with his Appendix on the "Validity of Anglican Orders," is a case in point.

There is, I believe, a much greater desire on all sides to arrive at truth than to bolster up a foregone conclusion than was formerly the case. In the domain of theology it is perceived that theological formulæ are not coterminous with the truths sought to be expressed, that they are but approximations to them, and that the sense attached to a theological formula may sometimes in process of time come to be materially different in popular estimation from that in which it was originally understood. There can be little doubt, to give one example, that the word "substance," as popularly understood, has very largely changed its meaning from that in which it was employed by the Lateran Council. The fact, if it be one, would go a long way to make explanations easy on a point which is often looked upon as one of the distinguishing differences between Rome and England. No great historical Church, no large body of Christians is likely suddenly to withdraw statements bound up with the religious convictions of those for whom they are responsible; the risk to faith would be too great: but each and all may explain, where explanations are needed, in a way which will divest such statements of the difficulties attaching to them.

The Council of Florence, whatever else may be said of it, by conceding the fact that it was to rank as the Eighth Ecumenical Council, at least showed this—that the authority asserted for the decisions of councils claiming to

be general councils like those of the Lateran, was not such as to make explanations, and very large explanations, impossible. But the possibility of such explanations once admitted, there can be no reason why in the face of a general and honest desire to be guided by the mind and voice of the whole Church, and with a firm determination to insist only on what is of strict obligation, such a measure of agreement might not be arrived at as, without interfering with national habits and customs, would make inter-communion possible, and that without sacrifice of principle, or danger to the deposit of truth entrusted to the Church's keeping.

Why should the Reunion of Christendom, on such a basis, be thought a dream? Are we not told that faith can move mountains? What limit can be placed on God's power who "maketh men to be of one mind in an house" except the limit we put on His gracious purposes towards us by our lack of faith and by our feeble wills? Can He desire the peace of His Church less than we who discern so imperfectly the evils which result from division?

It will be objected perhaps that recent events have made all question of Reunion impossible. Is it so? Is it not rather the truth, whatever assertions may be made on either side as to the consequences and logical results of the Bull on Anglican Orders, that the question of Reunion still occupies the field, and that lines of communication have been opened up between members of the Anglican and Roman Communions which are destined under the guidance of God's good providence, and as He sees fit, to have great and far-reaching results? The personal intercourse of those who seek the peace of the Church in sincerity and love is a great dissolvent of differences, even of those which seem the most insurmountable.

Such intercourse at once changes the atmosphere in which differences are regarded. Things assume a new aspect, mists clear away, what seemed far off and impossible is discovered to be near and less difficult of attainment than had been supposed.

With the desire for peace, possibilities of agreement are perceived which had not been suspected. Explanations on this point and that point are attempted, with the result that, as in a thaw, when first one crack in the ice is heard, and then another, till all at once the ice everywhere melts and the waters flow, the tide of agreement gathers force and eventually sweeps away all obstacles that bar the road to peace.

So may it be in regard to the Reunion of Christendom. How it will be brought about, or when, are matters about which we need not greatly concern ourselves. The disposition of such things remains with the Lord our God. Nevertheless, so far as we may presume to interpret the signs of the times, is there not reason to think from all we see around us, that much in the past which has encouraged separation is passing away, and that much likely to work in the opposite direction, is making itself widely felt at home and abroad?

It is no unreal and fictitious union, no federation of independent Churches professing divergent creeds that we seek, but a union founded on the profession of the one Faith with only those differences in regard to discipline and practice which might rightly be acquiesced in,—it is the revelation to the world of that Unity in which the Lord founded His Church, and in which she abides one throughout all ages. It cannot be our wisdom to play into the hands of those who may desire for various reasons to discourage the movement for reunion, by standing aloof, saying that union among Christians is a dream, and insisting on all that makes the realisation of such union impossible. On the contrary, it should surely be our endeavour to go as far as we can in the opposite direction, to show that we are truly anxious to do all that we may to heal the divisions, and to repair the breaches of the City of God. Let us, then, keep the eventual reunion of the whole Christian family ever in view, and let us pray for it, let us labour for it; and, in the first instance, let us strive for that reunion of the Church of England with the Apostolic See which is so necessary for the maintenance of the Faith, for the vindication

of Ecclesiastical authority, for the welfare of Christ's religion, and the spread of the Kingdom of God upon earth.

I venture very earnestly to recommend the following pages to the earnest consideration of all those who desire that the will of Him who is the Author of Peace and Lover of Concord may be done on earth as it is in Heaven.

HALIFAX.

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PROPOSITIONS

IN order to throw our subject, so far, into a more scientific shape, I shall venture to set down at the outset certain propositions, some of which, indeed, will appear obvious, while, as regards others, I shall ask the reader to assume the limitation of a prefix—such as, “Let it be granted,” or, “Let us assume for discussion’s sake,” or, “Does it not appear like that?”—but all of which are intended to clear our minds and to guide us in the consideration of the subject that is before us.

1. That Christendom is divided against itself.
2. That a house divided against itself cannot stand.
3. That our Lord meant us to be one.
4. That it is our duty therefore to compose our quarrels.
5. That He has endued us with the power to do so.
6. That this power discovers itself in the work of the Holy Spirit on the part of God, and in prayer and labour on the part of man.
7. That it was to the Church, regarded as one, that our Lord vouchsafed the promise of His presence.
8. That the enterprise of Reunion is, therefore, genuine, since its purpose is divine.
9. That a “divine ideal must be capable of fulfilment.”
10. That, as a matter of history, no other form or principle of Government has been able to come near to the Holy See in its power to keep together, in the bond of a living fellowship, so many thousands of Christians.
11. That the Communion of Rome is conspicuous in the

records of Scripture ("Your faith is spoken of throughout all the world"); and appears unique and conspicuous in the subsequent records of the Church.

"They yet . . . dare to set sail, and to carry letters . . . to the Chair of Peter and to the principal Church, . . . remembering not that they are the same Romans whose faith has been commended by the Apostle, to whom faithlessness can have no access."¹

12. That the See of Rome is the Apostolic See, and is destined to become the visible centre of Christendom.
13. That Rome is, in fact, the mother of English Christianity.
14. That Reunion, for the English Church, signifies reunion with the Holy See.
15. That England cannot formally remain as she is, except in so far as she is infallible.
16. That Rome cannot formally cease to be what she is, since she claims to be infallible.
17. That it is necessary to study the faith of other Communion before we repudiate or unite with them.
18. That explanation will be found to remove misunderstandings, and so to reduce distances.
19. That the same freedom of discussion must be allowed in relation to Rome as is universally permitted in other directions.
20. That Catholic unity signifies a state in which all who share in it are free to communicate at one and the same Altar.

¹ Cyprian, *Ep.* 59.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE PRINCIPLES OF REUNION.

IN his sermon at St. Paul's Cathedral in 1899, on the occasion of the eightieth birthday of our late Most Gracious Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury fastened the attention of a vast congregation upon the virtue of sympathy as the characteristic note of the present age.

Progress there has been, of course, in the sphere of invention and discovery, but is it certain that we are better in other respects than our forefathers?

Are we less immersed in mere material prosperity; less tempted to scheme and manœuvre for our own ends? Here, perhaps, we have not made progress. But along the line of sympathy we have made some advance.

The Archbishop pointed to the contrast between the East and the West end of London, and the barrier which at one time separated them off into two worlds. It was not that the rich in the one division despised their poorer brethren in the other; they did not realise their existence. This barrier has now fallen; and lines of communication have been opened up.

The multiplication of hospitals and other charitable institutions supplies another instance; and so again with the ideas of Reunion which are in the air.

In our own day, then, barriers are falling in all directions and men are being drawn more closely together by a sense of common brotherhood.

The preacher then went on to say how we might allow

ourselves to hope that all these movements were carrying us forward to some great and happy consummation.

And finally this spirit was gathered up and perfectly represented for us in the person of our late Most Gracious Queen, who had identified herself over so long a course of years with the joys and sorrows of her people. I am not, of course, presuming to claim the sanction of the Archbishop's sermon for any words of my own; but the virtue of sympathy is manifestly congenial to the enterprise of Reunion; so much so that in the act of acquiring the one we shall find ourselves borne on forcibly towards the other.

SECTION I.—*Theory and Practice.*

Now, it will be necessary at the outset to distinguish between theories advanced with a view to promote discussion and the actual recommendation of practical steps. This distinction is recognised in every science. In the sphere of Civil Government, for instance, a Bill that is still under discussion is not to be confounded with a Statute or Act of Parliament; and yet in the course of discussion it will be necessary to look into the future, and to picture the measure as though it had already received the Royal Assent, in order to appreciate it in all its practical bearings. Thus the ideal—while it must needs be considered as though it were the real, within the House—will at the same time be ignored for all practical purposes outside.

And so again in the sphere of Physical Science, there will be the inner circle of representative and distinguished savants who follow a hypothesis and continue to discuss it from the outset as though it were an established fact, all that looks in the contrary direction being first recognised and then ignored for purposes of research; while in the outside world all goes on as before, and the hypothesis, perhaps, in the event, has to be modified or even altogether abandoned. In what is known, for instance, as the "Stream line theory" in Hydro-dynamics, an ideally perfect fluidity is assumed throughout, and this in

spite of certain forces of resistance due to viscosity or friction in the particles of water gliding past one another—forces which cannot be described as practically insignificant ; the assumption being entertained in spite of them solely on the ground that it is necessary to mathematics. Some hypotheses must, of course, be ruled out of court as being extravagant or against all experience ; but wherever grounds for consideration are obvious, ample scope must be allowed for theory however dim or distant the prospects to which it appears to point. Difficulties, more or less, will be found to wait on every hypothesis ; and a way will sometimes be opened precisely at that very point where a passage has been hitherto pronounced impossible ; as, for instance, in the great South African war, when an entrance into one of the besieged towns was ultimately effected, after many fruitless efforts in other directions, by that one way which of all others had been declared by experts living on the spot to be hopeless.

So with the Christian Church, beset by unhappy divisions, subjected to numberless privations, and reduced to a state of the gravest anxiety for her life and health, the Roman route must not be thrust on one side in favour of any and of every other ; nor, especially in view of the wondrous history of the Holy See, must it be pronounced impossible as though by the voice of infallibility.

Projects of reunion with Dissent have been so discussed in our day, not to say acted upon ; rationalistic theories, too, have been broached and even publicly taught in our cathedrals ; and freedom of discussion, at least, must also be allowed for the theory that is known as Roman.

Now an Essay is, by the very meaning of the term, a trial, or an enquiry ; and so far belongs not to the end but to the beginning of a discussion ; and this should be borne in mind in all that I shall go on to say. Otherwise, of course, it will be urged that the Thirty-nine Articles manifestly bar the way, and that until this barrier disappears no change is possible in the practical relations between England and the Holy See.

But this is only another way of saying that discussion must come before action, and that legislative changes must be preceded by the leavening of public opinion. There was a time when these Articles were not, and the time may come again when they shall have ceased to be ; meantime they must not be looked at apart from their context, but viewed in their relation to the teaching of the Prayer Book as a whole, and to the plain requirements of the Bible, and to the progressive experience of the past three hundred years.

The sufficiency of Holy Scripture, for instance, is one of the central positions of the Articles, and throughout the length and breadth of the New Testament contradictions within a body which is expressly described as one are never mentioned without being severely rebuked. A Bible Christian, therefore, necessarily desires reunion with other Christians ; and of other Christians, Roman Catholics constitute the greater proportion.

It may, of course, be urged that the present moment is inopportune ; and human nature is apt to welcome discreet comments of this kind, and to respond to them by putting the question off to a more convenient season : but this is to forget that our contradictions are opposed to God's will, and must be understood, therefore, as constituting a state of sin ; and that the moment of repentance is in every case now. Such an objection, then, may have weight in reference to practical steps, but must not be allowed to bar discussion ; more especially when it is remembered that in this present world to part company is to diverge, and that the passage of time serves to aggravate our estrangements.

What I have said, then, will explain how solutions which are put forward in this volume to-day may be withdrawn again, if necessary, to-morrow ; special trains of thought being made to run on a siding, the traffic on the main line, meantime, proceeding as usual.

But in case any one should commit himself to the paradox of maintaining that the unhappy divisions of the present moment constitute no distress of any serious kind, and,

therefore, call for no serious remedy ; it will be well to lay down as carefully as possible the basis of discussion.

SECTION II.—*Reunion.*

Now, the enterprise of Reunion is based upon two facts : the fact that we are divided, and the fact that God meant us to be one ; and we cannot move a step in our argument until these facts have been recognised and brought out into shape.

I.

As to the fact of our divisions, there will scarcely be any dispute among Christians ; but custom dulls our sense of this sin as it does also of others.

It is the same with the unity of home life, where divorces are too often realised without being proclaimed ; an under-current having previously set in, silent, subtle, and therefore the more dangerous ; husband and wife being tempted at length to separate without saying so, and to acquiesce in some low level of—live and let live. Meantime a vague spirit of dulness overspreads the entire household ; a low tone comes eventually to prevail ; and the education of the children is made to suffer from divided counsels.

So with our unhappy divisions in religion : the process is gradual and not seldom unperceived, so that we grow used to new states ; an evil habit becomes our second nature ; and such grave contradictions as present themselves within the Church of England to-day come to be tolerated merely because to some of us time has made them tolerable. Nevertheless our Lord's impressive warning is still before us, and must be reckoned with alike in our own homes and within the larger household of the Church :—" If a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against a house, that house cannot stand." And if this hits our present case with precision, as it manifestly does, those

critics must be pronounced unreal who begin by ignoring the confusions around us and then go on to accuse others of disloyalty for presuming to discuss remedies. All along our day, for instance, the main hindrance to the advance of educational reform has been what is known as the religious difficulty ; and quite recently one of our leading statesmen declared how every educational reformer has been discouraged owing to the difficulties thrown in his way by our unhappy differences. "For eighty years," he said, "they had wrecked the best conceived educational projects upon that particular rock." And the same difficulty presents the chief obstacle to success in the Mission field, and continues to prove the fruitful source of agnosticism and indifference everywhere.

Now, our Lord's doctrine of unity was prescribed to meet this case : we were to be "one" in such a sense or form that the world might be enabled to believe, not divided to such an extent as to drive men into unbelief ; and our first step must be the recognition that a divided Church finds no sanction in Scripture, and that "if the New Testament is to be our guide in matters ecclesiastical, one thing at least is certain. We may doubt whether bishops are of obligation, whether there is an apostolical succession, whether presbyters are priests, whether St. Stephen and his six associates were the first deacons, whether the sacraments are seven or two ; but of one thing we cannot doubt, that all Christians were in that first age bound together in one body, with an actual intercommunion and mutual relations between them, with ranks and offices, and with a central authority, and that this organised association was 'the body of Christ,' and that in it, considered as one, dwelt 'one spirit.'"

II.

But there are some who allow the reality of the mischief, and yet acquiesce in the apparent impossibility of finding a remedy for it ; and with these it has become the fashion to

disparage all attempts at Reunion by pronouncing them to be chimerical and essentially unreal. This, however, comes of failing to distinguish between a human and a divine ideal.

Power belongs to God, and all, therefore, that falls within the range of power comes within the reach of God, it being contrary to His perfection to propose that which cannot in the nature of things come to pass ; and whereas a human ideal will always participate in the limitations of its source, being of the nature, therefore, of an experiment, and seldom coming to be realised in fact, "a divine ideal must be capable of fulfilment."

III

Since, then, the contradictions of the past three hundred years are contrary to the law of God, they should be understood not as constituting an argument for despair, but rather as providing us with a body of experience ; and as we do not allow ourselves to acquiesce in any disorder within the human frame, however obstinate it may prove itself, but rather appoint a commission of experts to investigate the case, and to pursue their research by means of observation and experiment, so should it be also in regard to the great body of Christians throughout the world.

As regards the former we have come to know how fearful and wonderful is the make of the human frame, and how necessary it is to understand it and to obey the laws and principles which govern the delicate and elaborate operations of its working, but when we turn to the Mystical Body of Christ our sense of fitness seems to fail us, and the idea of a plan disappears from our thoughts or is resolutely shut out as though it were derogatory to the divine mind : the anatomy and physiology of this body, we seem to think, is what every one is supposed to understand, without the inconvenient necessity and process of going to school first to learn it.

Beings are more highly organised in proportion as their

place is high in the order of creation ; but as regards the organism of the Church, we know the Almighty too well to suspect Him of such trifling as "Apostolical Succession," or "Forms and Ceremonies," or "Sacraments that are necessary to Salvation," or the suggestion that things should be done in one way rather than in another : other places are reached by discovering and pursuing the right road ; heaven may be reached by any road you will.

However this may be, it will be allowed, I think, that anything like complexity, or the delicate and elaborate contrivance, which we look for instinctively in every other great work, is too often regarded as an intrusion in this. And yet the confusions we see about us will never be set right, and the unity of Christendom can never be achieved until the idea has been recovered of a visible Church in all its majesty, divine on one side, human on the other ; issuing forth from the awful mind of God and unfolding itself gradually under the hand of our divine Saviour to the mind and heart of man. We hear too much in our day of what the world will have and will put up with, and too little of what our Lord requires of it ; and it is too generally assumed that the Gospel must conform itself to the age, instead of the age being required to conform itself to the Gospel.

So far, then, as the Reformation in England has produced results subversive of the divine order, it is these results that call for treatment, and not the divine order to which they appear in manifest contradiction ; and as it is our duty to discover and to obey the laws of nature, so is it our duty to recognise and to submit to certain general laws in the constitution of Christendom.

In other words, the entire enterprise of Reunion should be shifted from a sentimental to a scientific basis ; the virtue of facts and established results being recognised at the outset, and adopted as the formal starting-point of discussion.

SECTION III.—*The State of Parties.*

After a period of three hundred years it will be allowed that a divided Christendom has survived long enough to have acquired a history of its own, and that the course of this history has brought out to view certain broad characteristics in the several parties or sections of the Christian world ; characteristics which, for the purpose that is before us, may be said to constitute their proper functions. Here the results of observation and experiment will serve to convince every candid mind that some sections in the Christian society possess a capacity for movement and therefore also for adaptation which is impossible in the nature of things for others. Friend and foe alike concur, for instance, in declaring that Rome will not change ; but it has not apparently occurred to them to ask whether in fact she can do so. And yet free will does not signify a will that is absolutely free, whether in the case of individuals or corporations ; and societies and individuals alike can move only within such limitations as their own essential nature imposes upon them.

I.

This position demands explanation. There is a sense in which a corporation, like an individual, may be said to change ; and there is another sense in which change is impossible to it. Now, the question before us is the sense in which Rome cannot change ; it is this that has to be determined and recognised ; and the question is important.

Prohibitions were put forward, for instance, in regard to Galileo, and they were subsequently removed ; so far there was change. So again in regard to the claim to depose sovereigns,—a claim put forward by Popes in former times and recognised by people ; this claim died a natural death in proportion as the line of distinction between temporals and spirituals was more precisely ascertained. Once more ; four hundred years ago the

burning of heretics was sanctioned by Church and State alike ; now both alike would repudiate it. These are instances, and it would be easy to adduce others, showing that Rome has in fact changed, and suggesting the sense in which change is possible to her.

On the other hand there is a sense in which she cannot change ; and the two senses must not be confused.

In the year 1854, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was made the subject of a formal *ex cathedrâ* definition ; will Rome ever unsay that definition ? No, she never will ; because she cannot formally change. Again in the year 1870 the doctrine of Papal infallibility was made the subject of a formal *ex cathedrâ* definition ; will Rome ever unsay that definition ? No, she never will ; because she cannot formally change.

But this is not the whole truth. The atmosphere of the Roman Communion is an atmosphere of Conservatism, so that even in regard to positions which do not belong to the restricted sphere of infallibility, the probability is always against her going back upon her past.

However this may be, the word "formal," as I have ventured to apply it, must be interpreted in a specific and precise sense, being understood as attaching simply and solely to dogmatic positions which have been stereotyped and finally fixed by definitions manifestly proceeding from infallibility.

I am not forgetting the saying of Mr. Balfour, that "large changes and adaptations of belief are possible within the limits of the same unchanging formulas ;" and how far words can adequately express our thoughts is a large philosophical question about which it would be possible to say much. But in the present case we have to keep close to fact ; and in regard to what has been said and done, we are confronted by *ex cathedrâ* definitions on the one hand, and opinions on the other ; and what I am urging here is that, whereas opinions and even serious statements which do not proceed from infallibility may change or be allowed to die out, an *ex cathedrâ* definition—that is, a

definition which has been put forward and universally recognised as proceeding from infallibility—will be found always to endure ; in other words, such a definition may be explained, but it will never be explained away.

To say, for instance, that a progressive interpretation of the Vatican definition will be found to settle itself ultimately into a more moderate and constitutional attitude than was at one time anticipated—is one thing ; but to encourage any one, either within the Roman Church or outside it, to hope that a day is coming when the dogma of Papal infallibility will be allowed to drop out—is another thing ; and so far as it can be shown that any one who looks for such an event is living in a dream, and is therefore doomed to disappointment, so far surely it is mischievous and misleading to encourage him.

In saying this, however, I must be understood as speaking only for myself.

On the other hand, to say that Rome cannot formally change is not to say that Rome is therefore right : she may be marked out for destruction. Such an event would be appalling indeed, although it is not impossible—in the abstract. Nevertheless, even so, to end an institution is not to change it, so that the argument still holds good ; and, that we may not be working in the dark, I venture again to call attention to it, in the shape in which I have put it forward :—Rome cannot formally change ; that is, she cannot contradict her formal dogmatic *ex cathedrâ* definitions : and I would beg men of all parties and of all communions to suspend themselves over this proposition, to descend upon it, to enter into it, and to understand it.

II.

Now, it may be urged that a fact of this nature effectually disposes of the entire question, and that the project of Reunion must forthwith be pronounced impossible. But this would amount to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the argument, since it

would contradict the divine word. "Yea, let God be true, and every man a liar."

Moreover, there is a false assumption underlying this inference which requires to be exposed, the assumption, I mean, that we know what Rome is, whereas the truth is notoriously otherwise, scarcely a day being found to pass without some unfounded suspicion or misrepresentation coming out to view ; so that to speak of the Roman position as though every one in England had held it in his hands and fingered it, and after mature deliberation had been led to renounce it, is unreal and contrary to fact.

But perhaps it will be said that, although we of to-day do not precisely know what Rome is, our attitude of opposition, nevertheless, has been derived and handed down to us from those who knew. This, however, is once more a position I cannot bring myself to adopt.

Let the case be carefully considered, because it constitutes a critical point in the discussion ; although it is impossible here, in the nature of things, to do more than map out the field of enquiry.

III.

There are four centuries which it is necessary for us to pass under review, and in regard to three of these periods it is well to remember the saying of De Maistre, that up to his day history for three hundred years had been in conspiracy against the Catholic Church ; until at length, in the last century, a reaction set in, the spell of historical falsehood being broken by writers such as Schlegel, Ranke, and Döllinger in Germany ; Montalembert and De Broglie in France ; and Lingard and Hallam in England. In the century of the Reformation itself, there were two principal moments of separation : the first in the reign of Henry VIII., and the second in the reign of Elizabeth.

1. The reign of Henry VIII. may be set down thus :—

HENRY VIII. (1509–1547 A.D.).

In 1521, Henry VIII. published his famous work entitled *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, and dedicated it to Leo X. ; and for this the title of “Defender of the Faith” was conferred upon him.

What the King’s sentiments were at this time admits of no dispute ; and he expressly declares that “every Church of the faithful acknowledges and venerates the Roman See as its Mother and Primate.”

And in his Prefatory Letter the King, addressing Leo X., says : “If we have erred in anything, we offer it to be corrected as it may please your Holiness.”

In 1524, only three years later, the King, under the influence, perhaps, of some misgivings as to the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine, and certainly under the influence of his misdirected passions, turned his mind in the direction of a possible divorce.

In 1529, Wolsey’s attempt to extract the Pope’s consent issued in failure, and the King punished him by involving him in præmunire for acting as the Pope’s legate, although it was the King himself who in the first instance had begged this office for him.

In 1530 the whole body of clergy in England were also involved in præmunire for having obeyed the legatine authority of Wolsey. It was agreed that the King should have a grant of money : £100,000 from the Convocation of Canterbury and £18,000 from the Convocation of York ; and that the clergy should recognise his supremacy in the formula—“Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.”

Archbishop Warham and Fisher proposed to qualify it thus :—“As far as the law of Christ allows ;” and the subsequent correspondence between the King and the Convocation in relation to the *supremum caput* clause is instructive ; showing,

as it does, how carefully the King's demands were weighed by "skilled ecclesiastical jurists in some two and thirty sessions."

For the "cure of souls committed to His Majesty"—proposed by the King, the Convocation substituted: "the nation committed to His Majesty;" and any interpretation of the clause which might seem to imply spiritual jurisdiction as being vested in the King was expressly shut out.¹

In 1532 an Act was passed ordering the bishops to be consecrated, if necessary, without Papal Bulls; and forbidding the giving of first-fruits to the Pope.

In the same year Sir Thomas More made his speech in the House of Lords in defence of the clergy, and afterwards resigned the Great Seal. And on August 24th Archbishop Warham died, but not without having first drawn up a defence of himself, and made a solemn protest against all that had recently happened. The admission in regard to the "supremum caput" was not to be twisted in "derogation of the Roman Pontiff or the Apostolic See."

In 1533, January 25th, the King was secretly married to Anne Boleyn; and on July 11th the Pope excommunicated Henry; the excommunication being subsequently published on November 19th.

In 1534 the submission of the clergy, which had been extracted from them in 1530, was carefully folded up inside an Act of Parliament, and so made secure; the Universities as well as Convocation committing themselves to the statement that "the Pope has no more jurisdiction in England than any other Bishop."

In 1535, on June 22nd Fisher was put to death; and on July 6th Sir Thomas More suffered the same fate.

On August 30th the Pope renewed the excommunication.

Now, the above facts should be read, of course, in the context of the entire history; meantime they are adduced here for a specific purpose, and to suggest an important question.

¹ Gasquet's *Eve of the Reformation*.

Was it after a prolonged study of the dogmatic question, and in consequence of a profound intellectual conviction, that England and the Holy See fell apart in this first moment of their separation ?

Sir Thomas More had given his mind to the question for some years ; is there any evidence that the general multitude of people had done so ? What was it precisely that had happened between the years 1531 and 1534 ? Had the members of Convocation reconsidered the entire question of the Primacy and the Supremacy, and changed their minds ? Or was it that Warham had died, and that the King had appointed Cranmer to succeed him ? Was it force of conviction or another kind of force that had gradually effected the wrench ?

2. We now come to the second moment of separation.

ELIZABETH (1558-1603).

In 1559, Convocation met and drew up certain Articles professing their adherence to the Holy See, and their belief in the ancient doctrine of the Mass ; carefully defining at the same time the province of the spirituality in matters relating to faith and discipline. It was addressed to the Queen, Lords and Commons, and the two Universities joined in the declaration. This was entrusted to the Bishop of London, who handed it to the Lord Keeper ; but no reply was made to it.

On March 18th of the same year the Bill of Supremacy was introduced into the House of Lords, and Archbishop Heath made a speech in the course of which he declared that "by relinquishing and forsaking the See of Rome, we must forsake and fly from the Unity of the Church, and, by leaping out of Peter's ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisms, sects and divisions." We were, he said, thereby "flying from all General Councils, and all Canonical and Ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ." And that the other bishops were in sympathy with him is evident from the fact that all of them, with the exception of

the Bishop of Llandaff, refused the oath of Supremacy, and were consequently deprived.

And so with the Act of Uniformity which was passed by a majority of three, by the Lords Temporal, all the bishops protesting.

Now let it be again observed that where it is a question of understanding the movement as a whole these facts must be viewed in their entire setting; meantime they are here adduced for a specific purpose in order that we may find the proper answer to our question. Was it after a careful review of the Petrine texts and of the entire dogmatic position characteristic of Rome that England and the Holy See fell asunder in this second moment of their separation? Was it force of conviction or some other kind of force that effected the wrench? The question before us is not the justice or injustice of the change itself, but the method by which it was carried out. That there was need for reform in the Christian Church was recognised everywhere; and the Council of Trent itself was a reforming Council. So recently as the year 1880, when preaching before the University of Oxford, Dr. Liddon said—

“The Roman Church herself, as any student of the earlier sessions of the Council of Trent may discover, has profited by the Reformation within such limits as were possible.”

This, of course, is understood; and the exercise, in this country, of the Pope's jurisdiction in temporals had for a long time been deeply resented, perhaps by the majority of Englishmen; the bishops and clergy, then, may have so far been willing to unite with their King in pushing the Pope back into the sphere of his own proper department, viz. jurisdiction in spirituals.

But who, precisely, it was who continued to push until the Pope was pushed out altogether is the further question that requires to be answered; and in regard to this further movement it will scarcely be denied that it was carried through in an atmosphere of force and not of freedom, the dogmatic

question as such being for the most part away ; and that a total separation between England and the Holy See was effected by the King in spite of his clergy : "the very life thread of the old learning" being cut by prohibiting the academic study of the Canon Law on the one hand, and by encouraging and endowing the study of the Civil Law on the other, so that by degrees "all touch with Continental thought" was lost. Thus were the adhesions which had hitherto attached us to the Holy See ruthlessly cut, one by one ; and the work of isolating England from the rest of Western Christendom was accomplished.

The serious abuses of Papal government in the temporal sphere in Pre-Reformation times provided Henry with the occasion, but scarcely with the excuse, for a series of autocratic and tyrannical acts which blocked the way of that very Reformation in England which he had himself been the first to initiate. The engine had left its proper lines, torn up the entire roadway of a genuine and healthy reform, and left the whole field of religion in confusion.

IV.

In the years which immediately followed, one religious party after another came to the front and succeeded in demonstrating to the world the truth of what Whateley taught us sixty years ago, viz. that the persecuting spirit "neither began with Romanism, nor can reasonably be expected to end with it."

Not to mention the persecutions in the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., more than two hundred persons were put to death in the reign of Mary ; and about the same number of Roman Catholics, including clergy, laymen, and women were executed during the earlier years of Elizabeth ; having been previously tortured in many cases, and justly treated in none at all.

Laud's policy towards the Puritans, too, was the policy of suppression ; and so again was the policy of the Puritans

towards the Church when they found themselves in power with Cromwell at their head. And so once more was the policy of James II. when, with more zeal than discretion, and in spite of remonstrances from the Holy See, he tried in vain to force his religious opinions upon the country. Every age must be judged by its own standard, and not by a standard of our choosing; and the deposing power of the Pope, and the persecutions, whether Catholic or Protestant of those times, must be viewed in their proper setting, and not judged according to the higher ideals of to-day. We no longer hang for sheep-stealing or burn for heresy; and the proportions of punishment are everywhere changed.

Meantime, with the Penal Laws in operation and in periods of such general unsettlement, where does the Holy See and the calm and deliberate study of our relations to it come in?

I am not forgetting the great Anglican divines; but it should be remembered that it is almost possible, by a constructive use of their writings, to compile a Catholic Creed in the Roman sense: so much so that in the year 1846 Newman was able to speak, whether rightly or wrongly, of the entire Roman Creed, as being itself the scope to which these writers in their separate teachings converge; and Charles Reding is made to describe it as the Creed which upholds the divinity of tradition with Laud, consent of Fathers with Beveridge, a visible Church with Bramhall, dogma with Bull, the authority of the Pope with Thorndike, penance with Taylor, prayers for the dead with Ussher, celibacy, asceticism, ecclesiastical discipline with Bingham.

It would be interesting, in any case, to trace the curve of this movement, and to speculate as to how it would have worked itself out had not revolutionary events come in to interrupt it. When we pass to the eighteenth century, as early as the year 1736 so calm and deliberate a thinker as Butler was constrained to confess that by that time it had come "to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length

discovered to be fictitious," and should be regarded "as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule."

The *Analogy*, as we know, is an elaborate philosophical attempt to bring back the subject of revelation into the field of investigation. Such an atmosphere is not produced in a moment; meantime, apart from the recollection of James's blundering policy and the fact that the Penal Laws were in operation, such a period of deism and deadness was no time for contemplating questions of Church polity; and the subject of a possible reunion with the Holy See must have been entirely shut out from men's minds.

Again, the French Revolution spread its influence beyond its native shores and produced a crop of atheistic writers in the earliest years of the last century.

But when we turn to the nineteenth century a new chapter is evidently commencing in the ecclesiastical and civil history of our country. The coming over of the *émigré* priest was like the first streak in the dawn of a new day; and a transformation scene soon begins to discover itself in the subsequent passing of the Emancipation Act and the Reform Bill, and the revolution which was inaugurated by the publication of the *Tracts for the Times*.

This great movement dates, as we know, from the year 1833; and Newman's is the commanding figure from the first. What, then, is his own account of the matter? He set to work at once, he tells us, to construct a positive Church theory; and he saw then, what all earnest men are seeing now, that no society can live and thrive upon mere negations; and, on turning to the great Anglican divines, he "found at once that it was impossible to form any such theory without cutting across the teaching of the Church of Rome. Thus came in the Roman Controversy." As between the two Churches "our strong point was the argument from primitiveness, that of Romanists from universality."

By the middle of the year 1839 he "had seen the shadow of a hand upon the wall," and with this shadow came the

thought :—"The Church of Rome will be found right after all."

Two years later, in 1841, "the ghost came again ;" and within five years of that time Newman was gone.

I am not forgetting the other distinguished men who stayed behind when the great Oratorian left us ; but in the years which followed, the note of Reunion was heard with increasing distinctness : to Keble, in his last days, Pusey tells us, "the hope was a subject of joy ;" and the first formal effort on the part of Pusey himself was committed to Almighty God, "who, I hoped, had taught me to turn into an *eirenicon* what, at the earnest desire of others, I had begun as a defence ;" while Manning, as we know, lived to become Archbishop of Westminster, and Cardinal of the Roman Church in England.

Subsequently, in the period which followed upon Pusey's *Eirenicon*, the minds of our ablest men were diverted from the more particular question of our relations with the rest of Christendom to the broad issues of Agnosticism and the new problems suggested by the later discoveries of physical science. Meantime the purely Church controversies of the past forty years have been gradually forcing the subject of jurisdiction to the front ; and that is the question before us in England at the present moment.

Is it not true, then, to say that it was passion rather than understanding that separated us from the Holy See in the first instance ; and that intolerance and misunderstanding have been mainly responsible for the separation since ?

The fact, then, that Rome cannot formally change does not dispose of the question, unless we are sure that we understand what Rome is ; and it is precisely of this that we are not sure.

V.

Now, it is plain that the power to formally change her position which is denied to the Church of Rome is a conspicuous

characteristic with the Church of England ; for while it will generally be allowed that the latter body has discovered a manifold activity in the direction of good works, and also an activity of thought and opinion in almost every direction, the body as a whole being found to sway backwards and forwards within a range that touches and even coalesces with Dissent at one end, and with the religion of Rome at the other, she has also discovered a settled spirit of comprehension which has successfully defied all attempts to reduce it ; and it is, no doubt, this broad characteristic that has given rise to famous sayings like that of De Maistre, so often quoted in this connection :—"Si jamais les Chrétiens se rapprochent, comme tout les y invite, il semble que la motion doit partir de l'Eglise d'Angleterre."

Thus, while it is impossible to acquiesce in the Anglican Communion as she now is, a glorious prospect is opened up before us if we regard her state as provisional and her natural expansiveness as destined to fulfil a divine purpose. Let the case be carefully considered. In the course of a sermon preached some fifty years ago an Anglican clergyman declared that capital punishment and nothing short of it was the proper penalty for any one of his brethren who should allow himself to hear a confession. At the same period of time Cardinal Wiseman was lecturing in London and expounding the doctrine of penance as one of the everyday realities of the Catholic Church. Fifty years have since run out, and the practice of confession remains one of the everyday realities with our Roman brethren, and is now practised as well as taught by thousands among ourselves. Another commonplace illustration of this power to move recently came under my notice, when a friend of mine received a letter from an incumbent in one of our parishes asking if he knew of any one who would be willing to work with him : "Our use here," he wrote, "is—Daily Eucharist, coloured stoles, no extremes." Compare this with the conditions of sixty years ago and the extraordinary commotion occasioned by the surplice riots.

Again I take up one of our Church papers, a paper whose circulation is by no means limited to this country and which numbers some seventy thousand people among its readers, and I light upon a leading article under the title, "Hearing Mass;" a habit which it goes on to describe not merely as a privilege but as a duty.

Nor must we suppose that the elastic of the English Church can be stretched only in the direction of Tractarianism; our Evangelical brethren have succeeded in making it extend into the very heart of Dissent; so much so that Spurgeon is alleged to have said of them that they were not really Churchmen but rather Dissenters who had lost their way; Dissenterisers, in fact, I suppose he would have said but for the unmusical sound of the word.

But, whatever may be their proper description, the phenomenon is there before us; and leaders among our clergy have been known in recent years openly to proclaim what they consider the hopelessness of the chasm separating England from Rome, on one day, and to give their sanction and their blessing to a vast undenominational body on the next.

In other words, while the Evangelical school are in the habit of indulging themselves doctrinally and socially in one direction, they are disposed to resent it when they find their brethren doing the same thing in another. And yet I should say, myself, that from a comprehensive view of Church history it is they and not we who are indulging in a modern and momentous experiment; since it is a matter of history that the Church of England was for nine hundred years in Communion with the Holy See; whereas the new relation which they are seeking to develop is a comparatively recent invention, and would have received little sanction in any other age or any other part of the Church but our own.

I would venture, then, respectfully to address them thus: 'You are accustomed, I know, to assume that it is you who go by the Prayer Book and that it is we who act in spite of it; but are you sure of this? Be willing, for the purpose at least of

discussion, to see yourselves as others see you ; and listen to three quotations that I will set down.

‘The late Dr. Murray was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin ; Dr. Parker is a representative Congregationalist minister ; and Mr. Stirling conscientiously resigned his position in the Church of England, his heart and soul being now in the Protestant cause. Dr. Murray says :—“There are no irreconcilable differences (between England and Rome, that is) if only the Church of England people were true to the principles laid down in their Prayer Book. The doctrinal differences which appear considerable but are not so would soon be removed.”

‘Thus according to an eminent Roman leader the clergy will be approximating to the Roman position in proportion as they are true to the Prayer Book, and not by acting in spite of it. Dr. Parker adopts the same view when he assures us that the Prayer Book is “drenched with Popery ;” and, writing under the date April 4th, 1899, to the *English Churchman*, Mr. Stirling says : “I desire to ask the Protestants of England through your widely read columns, whether they are prepared to look facts fully in the face, and to admit that there are weak points in the armour of a Church, which may be Protestant in the main, but is vulnerable in her book of Common Prayer. That book contains, alas, fifteen Popish germs, and of these the Catholic Revival has been evolved. . . . Are unpleasant facts to be blinked at, and their strong points, and our weak ones to be ignored ? Are we to go about the country lecturing and holding up the Prayer Book, and exclaiming, ‘We are Prayer Book men, and we demand that the Romanisers shall be made to conform to this book ?’ Why, sir, they appeal to that book with the ornaments’ rubric, and claim, most plausibly, that it prescribes their Romish ‘ornaments of the Church and Ministers,’ the Mass Vestments and as a Corollary the Mass ! They assert from the pulpit, the platform, and in the Press that Priestly Absolution is the doctrine of the Prayer Book, and that the Sacrament of

Penance is not alien to its teaching ; and they quote passage after passage in support of their pretensions. . . .”

‘Thus although the writer believes the Church of England to be Protestant in the main, he evidently recognises with regret that she is not Protestant in her Book of Common Prayer.’

Here, then, we have an undesigned coincidence of testimony pointing to the unwelcome conclusion that clergy who are true to the Prayer Book must expect to be accused of Popery ; and I commend this impartial verdict to the attention of the Secretary of the Church Association, who allowed himself not long ago to say, in good faith of course, but with an inadequate grasp, I think, of the situation : “It would be better that a dishonest clergy should be ‘disestablished’ than that the Protestant religion established by law should continue to be disestablished by them.”

Now, the integrity of our Evangelical brethren is not to be disputed, and we have to face the fact that while they thus accuse the advanced school of being Popish on the ground that they act in contradiction to the Prayer Book, some representative leaders outside protest that they cannot help being Popish if they are true to it ; and since a book cannot speak for itself, the same variations which emerge from the private interpretation of the Bible are found to emerge, on a smaller scale, from the private interpretation of the Prayer Book ; so that what are practically two religions have come to be professed by ministers who adopt and make use of the same Liturgy ; our differences here, as elsewhere, invariably bringing us round to the same problem, viz. the problem of jurisdiction : “By what authority doest thou these things, and who gave thee this authority ?” And it was because this question was not more pointedly put to Henry VIII. in the first instance that it has become so difficult for us to find an answer to it now. Meantime, if this power to move and change is manifestly a characteristic of the English Church, it is certain that it will be as freely used in one direction and by the one school

as it is freely used in another direction by the other ; and I can perhaps best illustrate this position by approaching my Evangelical brother once again and speaking only for myself after the following manner :—‘ You were present yesterday, I hear, at an Undenominational Meeting, the Baptist minister being present also ; I forget whether you said he was presiding. But you offered prayer in your several turns, and an address was given by one of you for the benefit of the rest. I may tell you, on the other hand, where I found myself on that day ;—at the Presbytery in Farm Street, holding a conversation with one of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and listening to an interesting exposition of the difficult subject of Indulgences. Yours is a rather bolder line than I should feel able to adopt ; because, as you will remember, whereas we have always recognised the Orders of a Roman priest, we do not recognise the ordination of a Dissenting minister.’

A quotation from the Archbishop of York’s address at the Rhyl Church Congress will serve to further illustrate what I am saying. The Archbishop is reported as having addressed his audience thus : “ Are not the greater part of these Non-conformists united with us in the great brotherhood of the baptised ? . . . Courtesy and brotherly kindness manifesting themselves in friendly social relations even with those who are the appointed ministers of the Nonconformist bodies—I see no difficulty in this. I see a great beauty in it. Whatever differences may divide us, we are still the children of our common Father in Heaven. . . . Points of difference, however aggravated by bitter contentions, wear a very different aspect when the men who so differ meet at the same dinner-table from the aspect which they bear when they are discussed in the columns of the newspaper.”

Now surely the principle here laid down may be extended to our Roman brethren also ; and the visits I have paid and the conversations I have held with Dominicans and Jesuits and other Roman Catholics have led me to realise the value of contact ; here again “ bitter contentions wear a very different

aspect when the men who so differ meet ;” and as the elastic has been freely stretched in the direction of Dissent, so is it certain that lines of communication will be opened up, wherever possible, with our Roman brethren.

VI.

And once again, if we turn to the Dissenting bodies in this country, they will be found to have discovered during the past three hundred years a uniform tendency to divide and to multiply their divisions, and if at the beginning of a new century they are seen to be forming themselves into Alliances and Federations, and betaking themselves to Free Church Catechisms, may we not recognise in all this at once a warning and a confession,—a warning against the very principle of separation as containing within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and a confession that, after all, a rule of faith there must be, and that the Bible by itself is inadequate ?

Such would appear to be the state of parties if we view them from without : the function of Rome in the complex and elaborate operations of Reunion being to remain formally as she is ; and the function of Anglicanism and of the separatist bodies never to continue in one stay. Is it not our wisdom then, when considering the basis of discussion, to confront ourselves with these characteristics, and more particularly to recognise at the outset as an axiom what has hitherto invariably met us in the event as a result ;—Rome cannot formally change.

VII.

From what I have said it would appear that teachers representing, respectively, the maximum of Dissent at the one end and some measure of Roman teaching at the other have secured a footing and even a representative position within what may be described as the Anglican enclosure. In regard to Rome’s claim that our Lord did provide a visible centre in

the person of St. Peter and his successors, Canon Everest writes:—"I have long been convinced that her claims are just, being provable both by Holy Scripture and the testimony of the undivided Church;" and one of Dr. Pusey's later positions was that "the English Church has not rejected a visible head; but only disowns, as the Eastern Church does, the monarchy of the Bishop of Rome." Meantime at the opposite pole we have Prebendary Webb Peploe gravely contending that "the fallacy that one man has the power to communicate to another the mercy of God in an authoritative manner . . . is swept away for ever."

Now it may be urged that our first duty is to compose our quarrels at home; and that the further question of our relation to the Holy See should be relegated to some future time. But experience teaches otherwise, and serves to convince us that the question of Reunion, from whichever side we approach it, will be found to resolve itself ultimately into the question of the Holy See.

This is important: Grotius, for instance, himself a distinguished Protestant, devoted his mind with peculiar zeal to this question, and attempted to pierce to the very root of our unhappy divisions; and whereas in the earlier stages of his enquiry he allowed himself to hope that Protestants might become united among themselves, he was constrained ultimately to abandon this position: "As many as know Grotius, know this of him, that he has always desired that Christians should be again united into one and the same body. He was once of opinion that this might have been begun by uniting Protestants with one another; afterwards he saw this was impossible, not only because the disposition of the Calvinists is averse to peace, but for that Protestants have no common Church-government in which they are joined; which are the reasons that the several divisions of the Protestants can never meet into one body, but still more and more divisions will be made. Wherefore Grotius is now absolutely of this judgment [*"Quare nunc plane ita sentit Grotius"*] and many others

concur with him in the same sentiments : That Protestants cannot be united among themselves except they are united together with those who are in communion with the See of Rome ["nisi simul jungantur cum iis, qui Sedi Romanæ cohærent"]. Hence it is his wish that the separation which has been made, and the causes of separation were taken away. Amongst these causes the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, according to the Canons, is not to be reckoned ; as Melanchthon likewise confesses, who is of opinion that the primacy is even necessary for preserving of unity."¹ And Melanchthon's own words are : "As certain bishops preside over many Churches, so the Bishop of Rome is president over all bishops. And this canonical polity no wise man, I think, does, or ought to disallow. For the monarchy of the Bishop of Rome is, in my judgment, profitable to this end, that consent of doctrine may be retained."² And more recent experience has contributed an impressive comment and an ever-increasing weight to this argument.

So far, then, the case appears thus :—The divine ideal requires the unity of Christendom, and that ideal being divine must also be capable of realisation. Meantime experience teaches that, whereas the Church of Rome, owing to the nature of her constitution, is incapable of any formal change, the Anglican Church, with the various bodies that surround her, is apparently unable to avoid it ; and when to this is added the consideration of Rome's commanding position and prestige, and that Englishmen generally have had no adequate opportunity of apprehending her claims and therefore of appreciating her position, the duty of giving calm and careful consideration to her case would appear manifest ; and under the pressure of modern problems, and in view of our grave contradictions, even urgent. Owing to the fact of the original act of separation having been political rather than theological in its character, and to the peculiar circumstances of subsequent times, it is easy to show that such a careful and calm consideration of the case

¹ *Rivet. Apologet. Discuss.*, ad fin.

² *Respons. ad Bellarmin.*

has been for the most part away, and that, on the other hand, so far as scope has been allowed for its exercise, a steady advance towards the Holy See has invariably been the result. This being so, it may be said to constitute, at the present moment, an adequate ground for hope that the ultimate recovery of unity may be realised in that direction which it is the purpose of this essay to indicate.

We now have to enquire upon what lines the changes and movements to which I have alluded may be expected to run ; whether, that is, they discover any law or definite drift that is proper to them.

Let the course of our argument, then, be carefully retained in the mind as we pass on to some considerations upon the subject of method.

SECTION IV.—*Method.*

Method, according to Coleridge, signifies progressive transition ; that is, not merely passing but also making progress as we pass. What we see depends upon where we stand ; and it is the right point of view that secures proportion.

First there is contemplation from some elevated spot, a certain kind of brooding over the whole ; then the descent into the plane below and the passage from part to part. The first point, then, should be our point of view ; and the question we have to ask is whether the various parties or positions that we have been contemplating are necessarily permanent, anti-thetic and contradictory, or whether there is any living relation or connexion between them which will enable them ultimately to meet and coalesce.

I.

Now if in attempting to indicate an answer to this question I appeal to the name and teaching of John Henry Newman, it is because I seem to recognise in him one who occupies the

same position in relation to theological as Charles Darwin does to physical science. For over and above the extraordinary reach of his mind, his exquisite powers of observation, and the unworldliness of his character, Newman's relation to the religious problems of our time, his peculiar opportunities for observing the working of various religious systems, and the fact that he lived long enough to be able to correct and to leave on record the correction of some of those obstinate prejudices which represent the chief obstructions in the path of Reunion at the present time ;—all this gives to him a position which is unique.

“What is perfectly clear to any one who can appreciate Cardinal Newman at all,” says a critic so keen and a writer so single-minded as the late Editor of the *Spectator*, “is that from the beginning to the end of his career he has been penetrated by a fervent love of God, a fervent gratitude for the Christian revelation, and a steadfast resolve to devote the whole course of a singularly powerful and even intense character to the endeavour to promote the conversion of his fellow countrymen from their tepid and unreal profession of Christianity to a new and profound faith in it—which new and profound faith in it could, in his belief, be gained only by the reorganisation of the Christian Church, and its re-enthronement in a position of authority, even greater than that which it held in the Middle Ages.”

This may serve to introduce a remarkable passage from an appendix to a later edition of the *Grammar of Assent*, and in so doing to exhibit what in my judgment provides an adequate support to the hope that I have set before me ; and, since when he wrote this paragraph the author was seventy-nine years of age, it may be said to represent his mature and final view of the great situation ; a situation which must ever remain, after all, of paramount interest and importance to us : “The multitude of men indeed,” he writes, “are not consistent, logical, or thorough ; they obey no law in the course of their religious views ; and while they cannot reason

without premisses, and premisses demand first principles, and first principles must ultimately be (in one shape or other) assumptions, they do not recognise what this involves, and are set down at this or that point in the ascending or descending scale of thought according as their knowledge of facts, prejudices, education, domestic ties, social position, and opportunities for enquiry determine; but nevertheless there is a certain ethical character, one and the same, a system of first principles, sentiments and tastes, a mode of viewing the question and of arguing, which is formally and normally, naturally and divinely, the *organum investigandi* given us for gaining religious truth, and which would lead the mind by an infallible succession from the rejection of atheism to theism, and from theism to Christianity, and from Christianity to Evangelical religion, and from these to Catholicity." This passage is characteristic; and as each successive step in the process marks a crisis in the religious history of the individual, so when a sufficient number of individuals take such a step it may be said to constitute a crisis in the history of the Church. Of course we are not yet all agreed as to what precisely constitutes Catholicity; but speaking broadly it will, I think, be allowed that the history of the last sixty years supplies us with a sufficient number of instances to corroborate the Cardinal's statement.

In his own case, for instance, he might have said: 'Are there some now who read Paine's tracts (or others like them) against the Old Testament, and even take pleasure in the reading? So at one time did I. Are there some who read Voltaire's (or similar) arguments against immortality and exclaim, "How plausible and yet how dreadful"? So, once, did I:—

"Rejection of Atheism."

'Did Maurice and afterwards Hutton become convinced of the truth of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity? So did I:—

"Theism to Christianity."

‘Are there thousands of Evangelical souls who read and love to read the works of Romaine, Newton, and Scott; and are they in consequence “profoundly convinced” that the Pope is antichrist? So, at one time, was I:’—

“Christianity to Evangelical Religion.”

‘Did Faber advance from Evangelical religion to Catholicity? So did I. Do men embrace Catholicity; accepting what they describe as the three great Branches, and yet ignoring the Pope? So at one time did I.’

“It is observable (in 1836) that the question of the position of the Pope, whether as the centre of unity or as the source of jurisdiction, did not come into my thoughts at all; nor did it, I think I may say, to the end. I doubt whether I ever distinctly held any of his powers to be *de jure divino* while I was in the Anglican Church—not that I saw any difficulty in the doctrine; not that in connection with the history of St. Leo . . . the idea of infallibility did not cross my mind, for it did—but after all, in my view, the controversy did not turn upon it; it turned upon the faith and the Church. This was my issue of the controversy from the beginning to the end.”

“And from these to Catholicity.”

It would not be difficult, then, to adduce various and significant illustrations of the *organum* that Newman here asks us to contemplate. In a work recently published (1901), one who was formerly a Unitarian minister writes in reference to Catholicity, “The Church has satisfied the deepest wants and longings of my nature.” And Richard Holt Hutton, who set out as a Unitarian, and was led subsequently, under the influence of F. D. Maurice, to adopt the Trinitarian creed, and finally came under the spell of Newman’s genius, appeared at the end of his days to be looking wistfully in a Catholic direction. “I cannot adopt for myself,” he said, “his (Newman’s) later conception of the Church of Christ, hardly even that earlier conception which led so inevitably to the later.”

II.

Now if these words be viewed in the light of proportion, which is intended to serve as a leading principle throughout this essay, they will illustrate the Cardinal's position ; that is, they must be looked at not merely in relation to what Newman is at the time they are spoken, but also in relation to what Hutton himself was, many years before, when it would have been impossible for him to say them. To detach this sentiment from the context of Hutton's entire course of thought is to view it out of its true proportion, and so to miss its significance. On the other hand to see it in its proper setting is to paraphrase it thus : 'At this particular point of time I cannot accept the Roman Catholic position ; indeed I am not quite sure that I can accept that earlier position which inevitably leads to it. In other words, I am not a Roman Catholic to-day, but I am not sure that I shall not be one to-morrow.'

Had Hutton set out in life from a more advanced stage in the progressive course he might perhaps have found himself in entire agreement with Newman in the event.

Other instances might, of course, be adduced : Frederick Lucas, the first editor of the *Tablet*, and Mary Howitt, began life as Quakers and ended as Catholics ; and Mr. Kegan Paul, who, after having wandered out into Agnosticism, and sheltered himself for some years under the teaching of Auguste Comte, and eventually moved forward slowly and deliberately into the Roman Catholic Church, has laid it down as his deliberate opinion that "it is not a paradox, but sober truth, to say that Positivism is Catholicism without God."

As, then, a telescope contains within itself more than at first sight appears, and must be drawn out in order to be realised, so at the outset a man may be convinced that he is right in laying hold on religion, and yet come only by degrees to realise all that is involved in it.

Newman's position has been misunderstood and misrepresented; what he maintains is, not that a man ought to be an atheist if he is not in Newman's sense a Catholic, but that he ought not to be an atheist and for the same reason ought not to be other than a Catholic. A man who is true to himself will reject atheism, and the same principle which leads him to reject atheism should lead him ultimately to accept Catholicism. If he fails to complete his journey it is not because it is inherently impossible to him, but because he does not rise to its successive occasions.

From this point of view if there be good will to start with, the desideratum is thoroughness or consistency.

Now, whether this generalisation of Newman's be true or not, it will be allowed at least that length of days, varied experience, a habit of precise thought, and integrity of character combined to provide him, perhaps more than any other man of his generation, with that special outfit which alone could entitle him to propound it.

He was, as I have said, in his eightieth year when he laid down this statement: he had understood the Anglo-Catholic position from having lived in it and strenuously defended it; and was subsequently enabled to watch it from without and to make observations. Moreover in Newman's case, as in that of Coleridge, an intellectual base was necessary to his creed; "I felt then," he writes, "and all along felt, that there was an intellectual cowardice in not finding a basis in reason for my belief, and a moral cowardice in not avowing that basis."

Some instances to illustrate this habit of observation and inference may here be set down.

In 1877, in the new edition of the *Via Media*, the author was able to place some of the statements in Tract 90—statements which had been animadverted upon by the Oxford tutors—side by side with the very same statements by Dr. Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, in 1868. In 1841 they had been pronounced ingenuous and disgraceful; twenty-seven years afterwards they

were allowed to pass. "Prævalebit veritas," Newman might well exclaim. "It may be interesting," he said, "to place his statements and those of the *Tracts* in juxtaposition." Looking on from outside he was able to recognise a crisis of which others were unconscious. He brought the past to bear upon the present and recognised a revolution; others made use of the language so familiar to all of us—"There was no crisis, you see, after all." Again, in a footnote to the same volume, written also in 1877, he makes another observation, which is startling, perhaps, and yet surely true:—"It is observable" (here is the distinction; he is not in the fight, but observing it from a neighbouring hill)—"it is observable that at the commencement of the Oxford Movement in 1833 the insuperable obstacle felt, by High Anglicans, to communion with Rome, was the doctrine of the Tridentine Council. By 1865 they seem to have got over it, and the Vatican decrees are the obstacle now (1877). Will they be such in another forty years?" And I think it may fairly be regarded as a question how far the Vatican decrees will be considered insuperable in the year 1917. It is not easy to hazard an answer, since in relation to ourselves these decrees have never been either formally proposed, exhaustively studied, or finally repudiated. However this may be, it is impossible to deny the steady advance of the Oxford Movement hitherto, nor is it easy to set any limit to that advance now; and we constantly fall into confusion from not recognising this principle of proportion and from shutting our eyes to this law of progress.

Each successive stage in the advance has had its champion who has bidden us move forward, and told us also where to stay; forgetting only too often that his disciples were setting out from where he himself had stopped, and not from where he started. "Thus far," he said, "shalt thou go and no further." A position had been won, in his own case, in spite of a majority that had been obstinately against him; but when his disciples begin to push on: "I grieve to say," he interposes, "that the younger generation are going beyond

anything that we have been used to sanction." Certainly ; because whereas you are exhausted, they are starting afresh ; and, so far, from the point of view, at least, of abstract principle, they are only doing now what you did before them—pushing on.

Thus, to select one instance, in regard to Eucharistic adoration, the wonder is not that Keble himself should have returned a hesitating answer, but that he should have given any kind of sanction to the practice at all ; especially when we remember that a former curate of his, who only died this year (1902), was detained in deacon's orders for eighteen years merely for stating the doctrine of the Real Presence in an examination paper.

Thus the question would appear to be not merely as to what Keble may have thought in the year 1856, but what he might have come to think in the year 1902.

However this may be, that various minds have, in fact, been able thus to advance from their several standpoints does not, of course, prove that the advance itself is true, but it proves at least that it is possible.

III.

I have said that proportion is intended to provide a leading principle of this essay ; and a few further illustrations of this may serve to show that it is in fact a fruitful principle of recovery.

1. One unhappy division in this life is that which separates the worldly minded from the religious man. What is worldly mindedness but the outcome of a disproportionate view of the visible things around us ; or, in other words, the habit of viewing this life as the body of the work itself, rather than as the mere introduction to it ; of mistaking a part for the whole ?

2. Again, the habit of viewing texts apart from their contexts has been largely responsible for our unhappy divisions. Men have brought their peculiar temperaments with them and

read them into the Bible, until they have come to see nothing else. Luther is fascinated by the doctrine of justification by faith; therefore the Epistle of James must needs be "an epistle of straw;" with another, Christianity means conduct, therefore the Sermon on the Mount is all in all. In all such cases the spirit of Catholicity makes for adjustments rather than alternatives, and is ever on the alert to balance one principle against another.

3. Men fall into opposite camps not merely because they are censorious but also because they are superficial; moral faults being looked at independently of the total character to which they belong; and individual persons being detached from their proper surroundings and from the circumstances and general level of their times.

That men of influence should have said hard things about Rome before the passing of the Emancipation Act is not necessarily a reason for our following their example afterwards. In those days our Roman brethren dwelt apart, and as it were in a foreign country; since those times some of us have visited that country and handed in our report. We are now morally bound to base our judgment upon our new knowledge, and no longer to cuddle our resentments.

4. A study of perspective is necessary in regard to time as well as space. Men look out upon the world of to-day and assure us that Catholic countries are on the decline, as though "Now" were equivalent to "Always." Has Spain never been great, then, because she may not happen to be at her greatest to-day? And so with France and Italy. Apart from the question as to what constitutes greatness, a question that would be more easily answered than in fact it is if men were always what they seem, it has to be remembered that nations rise and wane; and to assume that any one of them is destined to settle into a state of permanent greatness is to assume what is contrary to all experience. To be thus fascinated by parts or isolated aspects, whether in regard to space or time, is to view things out of their true proportion.

5. Another common source of mischief arises from not balancing external by internal religion. We pay a visit to a Roman church, and complain that so much is made of ceremonial ; forgetting that there is another side of the question, and that the same society that makes so much of ceremonial and outward form also insists upon the sacrament of penance and the doctrine of intention. It is unfair to view either side without also looking at the other.

I am calling attention here to the point of view from which we contemplate the question as a whole or the various aspects of it in particular ; and it would be easy to multiply illustrations of the mischief and confusion that come of selecting false standpoints and being satisfied with partial views.

If it be said that this essay is an illustration of a one-sided statement, the answer is obvious, that, so far as it is open to that imputation, where a stick has been persistently bent one way it is necessary, if we would straighten it, that we should carefully bend it the other.

However this may be, one aspect of a true method is the principle of proportion, and one way, and I think a practical way, of viewing the question before us is to view it as a question of proportion ; and so far, if we recognise the virtue of fact we shall see the importance of recognising the historical proportions of Christendom and therefore of assigning to the Church of Rome the central position in our enquiry.

Not merely from her vast numbers but from her great prestige and her marvellous history, hers is manifestly the first and foremost place ; and with the majority of Christians, to be in communion with her has ever been a test of orthodoxy. The time has surely come, then, when all may once again claim the right to study the teaching and the history of this great Church, not so much for purposes of controversy as with a view to communion ; and the subsequent chapters in this essay are offered as a contribution to this enterprise.

CHAPTER II.

UNITY.

THE Church is understood, in the first instance, to comprise all the baptised people of the Lord, wheresoever they may be ; the many millions of those who have passed beyond the veil as well as the entire number of the baptised who are still alive in the world.

But when we speak of the unity of the Church we are thinking only of this latter portion ; that is, of "the whole state of Christ's Church militant here in earth." And it is of this portion only that our Lord is thinking in His great High-Priestly prayer (St. John xvii.).

Baptism may be administered by a clergyman of any denomination whatsoever, or, where circumstances demand it, by a layman ; and the act is understood to be valid provided the form presented by our Lord has been duly observed, and there has been an intention on the part of the minister to do what the Church does.

"Church" being a singular word signifies one thing ; the controversy occasioned by our differences being found to turn not upon the fact of Unity but upon its nature ; and the various interpretations of this nature which have obtained in the Christian world may be described as types of Unity. There are three principal types of Unity in Western Christendom ; the Roman type, the Anglican type, and the type that is known as undenominational ; and the test to which these and all other types have to be brought is that form of Unity which is

according to the mind of Christ and which is declared and made known unto us by His Word.

SECTION I.—*The Divine Ideal.*

Our Lord must have had a meaning in His mind when He prayed that we might be one. What was that meaning? To find the answer to this question we must read His words in Scripture, and seek for the interpretation of them in the history and experience of Holy Church.

I.

If we fasten our attention upon the words of our Saviour in St. John xvii. we shall recognise the importance of the doctrine of Unity, and how it is that the note of Unity has come to be recognised from the beginning as the first note of the Church. I shall make this prayer, then, the groundwork of all that I have to say.

And first our Lord's words run thus :—

“I pray for them : I pray not for the world, but for them which Thou hast given Me. . . . And now I am no more in the world, but these are in the world. . . . Holy Father, keep through Thine own Name those whom Thou hast given Me, that they may be one, as We are. . . . I pray not that Thou shouldst take them out of the world, but that Thou shouldst keep them from the evil. . . . Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word ; that they all may be one ; as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us : that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me.

“And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them ; that they may be one, even as We are one ; I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in one ; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me.”

II.

The passage, then, falls into three principal divisions :

1. The Divine Intention.
2. The Divine Means.
3. The Divine End.

1. The Divine Intention.—“That they may be one ;” that is, that the Apostles whom our Saviour had chosen out of the world, separated from their surroundings, instructed in the things concerning His Kingdom, and passed through a process of education directed towards a specific work,—that they may be one.

And for a measure of this Unity He points us to the God-head itself. “As Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us.”

Then our Saviour lifts His eyes and looks into the future, extending His project to all who should subsequently believe through their preaching. “Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their word ; that they all may be one.”

Thus the scope of our Lord’s prayer is—that portion of His Church which is visible here on earth, without any restrictions of time or place ; and the intention of His prayer is—that they may be one.

2. The Divine Means.—Next, how can this be ? “The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them ; that they may be one as We are one.”

Here is the gift of a supernatural power adequate to the Divine purpose ; a power given to the Man Christ Jesus in the first instance and extended by Him to the visible Body of the Church afterwards.

To discover and exercise this power, then, for the purpose for which it was given, should be the aim of the Church as a whole and of the members of the Church in particular.

3. The Divine End.—And what is the aim of this Unity ? “That the world may believe.”

The man of the world has to be converted to the Faith ; he has common sense but is without spiritual discernment ; you point him to the society and ask him to recognise it as one ; he sees what you say and believes.

It is misleading, then, to contend that Unity is merely the ultimate triumph of our cause, when our Lord expressly says that it is meant to be the cause of our triumph.

Unity is the first note of the Church, a divine instrument for the conversion of the world ; and our Lord, knowing what was in man, not merely proclaimed the great purpose but also prescribed the divine means.

SECTION II.—*The Church of the Bible.*

Now, as a matter of history, this purpose was fulfilled in the Church of the first days ; and this accounts for the term Reunion ; the Unity of the Church being something that has been once experienced and afterwards lost, not something that has never been experienced at all.

I.

In answer to the question—"What shall we do?" the new converts are told by the Apostles to repent and be baptised into the Name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins ; and that "the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call." And after fulfilling these conditions they are said to have been "added" to the Apostolic body : "The same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls."

Then we have a picture of their state :—"All that believed were together, and had all things common." This was how they interpreted the spirit and teaching of our Saviour. "They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of the bread, and in the prayers."

Here, then, is the immediate and precise fulfilment of our

Lord's prayer ; the Apostles themselves and those who had subsequently believed through their word, are before us, and they are one. Unity is a fact and not merely a forecast in the Church of the New Testament.

Let this passage be carefully weighed. The Christians of the first days were not merely enlightened by the new message, but enrolled as members of the new Church ; they were not merely taught about a Saviour but brought within the sphere of a society ; and this twofold relation, the relation of their minds to the teaching, and the relation of themselves to the teachers of the Gospel was recognised by them as a matter of duty and principle. ' We must be careful to observe their teaching ; we must be careful not to separate ourselves from their fellowship.'

This, I think, is implied in the word "stedfastly ;" they knew that self-imposed teachers would seek to turn them away from the Apostles by discrediting their message, and they set their faces against such a temptation from the first ; and it is plain that as time went on and daily additions were made to the Apostolic body ; when the number of Christians was so great that they could no longer live together on one spot, but natural lines of cleavage, such as mountains, rivers, or seas, were found to intervene and so to hold them forcibly apart, not only would it become a matter of urgent necessity to establish lines of communication all over the Christian world, but also, unless the primitive plan was to be reversed, while room would have to be found for the national idea within the one Church, the one Church could never in the very nature of things be imprisoned within the nation. As I have said, in another place, correspondence is necessary if friendship of the most ordinary kind is to be abiding ; but where the duty of loving one another and of doing so with a pure heart fervently is enjoined upon us as the characteristic duty of the Christian life and our Master's express wishes are before us, in language that it is impossible to explain away, we are constrained, whether we will or no, to look for Catholic sanctions not merely to the Church

in England but also to the Holy Church throughout all the world.

That the Church of the Bible, then, is one ; that the mark of unity not merely attaches to its profession but is visibly present in its practice appears to be a fact, and I will now go on to ask what is the proper significance of that fact.

II.

Now the picture of this united Church of the New Testament is not presented to us *in vacuo*, but will be found to have its proper setting in the circumstances and atmosphere of the time ; and as we cannot realise our Lord's life without picturing it to our minds, so we cannot appreciate the Church of the first days (Acts ii. 41-47) without the use of the historic imagination. We do not see it as it should be seen unless we see it in its proper context of prophecy and Apostolic interpretation.

On the one side we have our Lord's prophetic declaration : "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them, that they may be one." On the other side we have the teaching of the Epistles : "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular ;" while in the centre we have the vision of Unity itself : "All that believed were together ;" "They continued stedfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship." On the one side we have our Lord's announcement that the Kingdom of Heaven is coming ; on the other side we have the announcement that it is come.

On the one side we have the several figures by which our Lord illustrates the Unity that is coming ; on the other we have the Apostolic figures to illustrate the Unity that is come.

Our Lord says, "I am the vine, ye are the branches ;" and the Apostle says, "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular." Our Saviour says, "There shall be one flock ;" and St. Paul asks, "Is Christ divided ?"

Such is the setting in which our Lord's most solemn words

(St. John xvii.) appear ; and are they not at once momentous and significant ? Is it not plain from the very laws of the human mind that where thoughts were so deep and so urgent as to require the language of this chapter to express them, they must necessarily have declared themselves at other times also ? That a thought which had not merely resided as a conception in the intellect, but had also come to settle in the sphere of the heart, there to burn and melt and overflow in all the intensity of ardent prayer, that a thought of such magnitude should have burst forth into expression here, at this particular moment of our Lord's life, but that it should never have declared itself before, and never have sought to express itself afterwards ; that the substance of this utterance (St. John xvii.) should have thus come to the surface of our Lord's mind for the first time, and should then have died down into silence never to rise again ;—this appears to me a psychological impossibility.

On the contrary is it not certain that thoughts which were so profound and intense at the moment of prayer must have proved themselves equally intense and profound in the moment of instruction ? Must they not have penetrated into the sphere of purpose and been urgent in the pressure which they would everywhere exert in the deliberations of the mind ?

To establish a society in a world like ours which should unite within itself people of all nations, languages, classes and climates,—what a project was this !

Does not the question of proportion come in here ?

Must not the conception of this all-embracing world-wide Society have been present to our Lord's mind in the shape of a commanding thought from the very first ; from the moment when He proclaimed His purpose—"The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand," to the moment when He was taken up, "Lo, I am with you all the days, even unto the end of the world" ? Must not the one absorbing thought have been present to His mind in the years of quiet deliberation which preceded His ministerial life ? Must not the proportion in His thoughts and the consequent proportion of thoughts in the minds of His Apostles

have declared itself in the momentous conversations of the "Forty Days"? Must we not reason here, as elsewhere, from what we do know to what we do not know? Is it not inevitable that He who uttered the language of St. John xvii., before His death and resurrection, should have constantly spoken about it, and been constantly questioned upon it in the days that followed; and must not this thought of Unity be nearest to our Lord's heart now as He watches the progress of His Kingdom?

Certainly in our own case a thought which has won for itself a central position in the mind will be found to require severe self-restraint if it is not to be almost continuously bursting forth into speech; and where such restraint is exerted the outburst will be the more powerful when the restraint is withdrawn. This aspect of the question is important, because the thought of Reunion has been rapidly forcing its way to the front in our day, and is now claiming for itself a prominent place in the mind of the Church; and if we can show that the place which it seeks to occupy now is the place which in fact it occupied then; if we can say that the idea of Unity was prominent in the mind of our Lord then, and that the idea of Reunion is prominent in the Church's mind now, it will appear likely that the one fact is the true counterpart of the other; and it will serve, moreover, to do away with the notion, still prevalent in some quarters, that the enterprise now before us is the mere craze of a minority instead of being, what in fact it is, the proper concern of the entire Church; or in other words, as I have elsewhere said, we shall have done something towards transferring the whole subject from a sentimental to a scientific basis.

III.

We may then, I think, take our Lord's forecast of Unity as supplying the proper explanation of the fact of Unity, as we see that fact portrayed for us in Acts ii.; the fact that the disciples were "together" being regarded not as a happy

accident or the mere expression of natural friendliness, but as the deliberate fulfilment of our Lord's most solemn words; the very word "stedfastly" seeming to imply, as I have elsewhere indicated, a dread of failure, and a sense of responsibility commensurate with that dread.

And as our Lord's forecast is so far the explanation of this earliest fulfilment of it, does it not also light up the entire New Testament situation; providing us with an atmosphere of interpretation for His other recorded sayings, and serving to explain not merely the conspicuous Unity immediately after the Ascension and after Pentecost, as well as the persistent reiteration of the doctrine of Unity in the Epistles, but also the prominence given to this doctrine in the teaching of the Early Church?

All other passages in the New Testament bearing upon this subject may be regarded as live coals from off the Central Altar of Unity in St. John xvii.; the other thoughts in our Lord's mind being understood to be grouped around the thought of Unity as the disciples were grouped around our Lord Himself.

And may we not further say that all subsequent experience, and more particularly the experience of the last three hundred years, is found to react upon our Lord's words and to explain the prominence of that thought to which they gave expression? Knowing as He did what was in man and how much of human power does in fact issue in perversity; knowing what all experience compels us to know, how difficult a work it is to keep any considerable number of people together, our Lord not merely scored the mark of Unity deep into the consciousness of the Church but was careful also to prescribe means for retaining it there.

IV.

It is impossible to imagine, even though His words did not expressly preclude the notion, that our Lord would have proposed and set on foot a scheme so vast and world-wide in its

dimensions, so contrary in itself to all previous experience, so certain to arouse suspicions and to come into conflict with national ideas and governments, without also providing an apparatus adequate to such an end.

To have merely started the Apostles on such a course and then to have left them to themselves would have been to contradict the very idea of that providence about which our Lord is so careful to teach us.

And the express words of our Lord Himself are found to fulfil this natural expectation of our minds : "The glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them ; that they may be one, as We are one." The power of God in all its fulness ("All power is given unto Me") was imparted to the Man Christ Jesus, and as He Himself expressly tells us, extended by Him afterwards to the Apostles themselves ; to that compact body which we recognise in the Apostolic band which stood together on this solid earth and witnessed our Lord's ascension into Heaven.

The intelligent life of religion does not consist in merely senseless reiteration of the end of religion, but in a vigorous understanding of the means which are necessary to attain that end ; and if we can once come to recognise the true significance of Unity ; what a delicate and sensitive thing it is in every department of our natural life ; what extraordinary care and careful organisation are required to preserve it ; this will prepare us to appreciate its significance in the supernatural life of the Church ; and to recognise how by a necessary sequence of thought the strong yearning for Unity in the heart of our Lord passed into the elaborate plan which was necessary for its attainment ; how the prayer—"that they may be one, as We are one" resolved itself into "the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them ; that they may be one."

V.

But it may be said that the Bible itself speaks of "Churches," and that we cannot, therefore, be wrong in doing likewise.

And it is true, of course, that the word occurs in the plural, both outside and within the pages of the New Testament. But, whereas the word "Churches" appears to denote the several parts of the world where members of the one Church are to be found, where it is a question of faith and doctrine we no longer have "Churches" but "My Church ;"—"The Church of the living God which is the pillar and ground of the truth ;" "Upon this rock I will build My Church ;" "a holy temple ;" "a habitation of God through the Spirit ;" "the household of faith."¹

It was part of our Lord's intention, then, that His Church on earth should continue to remain one body ; that it should continue to be sustained by one Head.

Our Lord's prayer for His disciples that they may be one speaks to us of one society : and His commission to them to "teach all nations to observe whatsoever things" He had commanded them, speaks to us of one message ; and His promise to remain ever with them, speaks to us of one sustaining Head.

And this is how St. Paul views the situation. "One Lord," he writes, "one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." The gospel that he preaches is not "yea and nay," but "altogether yea ;" and the Corinthians must see to it that there be no divisions among them, and that they be mindful of speaking, one and all, "the same thing," and of being "perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment." The human body supplies him with an illustration ; and "as the body has many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body, so also is Christ ;" and then turning directly to them : "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular." And still more pointedly : "By one spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free."

"There is one body and one spirit."

¹ Newman's *Essays, Critical and Historical*.

Schism is plainly a sin : " That there should be no schism in the body ; but that the members should have the same care one for another. . . ." And in case we are tempted to hug our isolation, " The eye," he says, " cannot say to the hand ' I have no need of thee.' "

And as for mere Nationalism no Pope ever attacked it more vigorously than St. Paul : " There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female : for ye are all one man in Christ Jesus." And in one of the most beautiful passages in Holy Scripture the same Apostle who has preserved for us the solemn prayer for Unity that forms the groundwork of this chapter, and whose writings are everywhere saturated with divine love, both name and thing, declares : " We know that we have passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren."

SECTION III.—*The Church of the Fathers.*

When we pass from the writers in the Bible to the writers outside it we find the same prominence given to this doctrine.

St. Augustin's words are significant. " If," he writes, " the catechumen be slow of understanding, and have neither hearing nor heart for the sweetness of truth, he must be borne with tenderly, and, after a short and cursory statement of other points, those things which are chiefly necessary are to be inculcated with much of awe, such as the Unity of the Catholic Church, the nature of temptation, and of the Christian life by reason of the judgment to come."

The unity here spoken of is a unity that is manifest and not esoteric in its nature ; otherwise how could it be brought home to one who had " neither hearing nor heart for the sweetness of truth " ?

And so the same writer in another place : " The Church stands forth glorious and visible to all ; for it is a city built on a hill which cannot be hid, by which Christ reigns from sea to sea. . . ." And again : " Hence it is that no man can fail

to see the true Church. Therefore the Lord Himself said in the Gospel, 'A city built on a hill cannot be hid.' "

Once more: "We believe, moreover, the Holy Church, that is, the Catholic. For both heretics and schismatics call their congregations Churches. But heretics, by false opinions concerning God, violate the faith itself; and schismatics, by their evil divisions, break off from brotherly love, though they believe the same things that we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church for that it loves God; nor schismatics for that it loves our neighbour."

"The Holy Church, the one Church, the true Church, the Catholic Church warring against all heresies; for war it may, but warred down it never can be."

Tertullian says: "The proof of Unity is the participation of peace, the salutation of brotherhood, and the interchange of hospitality."

And St. Cyprian, who made a special study of the question, writes: "The Church is likewise one, though she be spread abroad and multiplies with the increase of her progeny; even as the sun has rays many, yet one light; and the tree boughs many, yet its strength is one, seated in the deep-lodged root; and as when many other streams flow down from one source, . . . Unity is preserved in the source itself. . . . Break a branch from a tree, once broken it can bud no more."

Similar passages might of course be quoted from other writers, but these are, so far, representative witnesses belonging to the primitive Church; and it is to the primitive Church that Anglicanism confessedly appeals.

Certainly the Unity here described is a visible unity; and it was in support of such a unity that one of the early *Tracts for the Times* was written; its two main positions being—that there was a Visible Church in the Apostles' day, and that the Visible Church thus instituted by the Apostles was intended to continue.

The local creeds in the earliest days and the universal creed afterwards reflect the same truth.

In the East :—

“We believe . . . in one Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

In the West :—

“I believe . . . the Holy Catholic Church.”

In the Universal Creeds :—

“I believe in the Holy Catholic Church.”

“I believe in one Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

SECTION IV.—*The Church of the Prayer Book.*

If we turn to the language of our own Prayer Book, the same doctrine appears in many forms. We sing of “the Holy Church throughout all the world ;” and in the Collects, again and again, prayers are offered up to Almighty God that He will “keep His household the Church ;” or, more expressly still, we speak of His having “knit together His elect in one communion and fellowship in the mystical body of His Son ;” and of “the whole body of the Church being governed and sanctified” by His Spirit.

Such language plainly refers not to a local Church but to the entire society, members of which are to be found not merely in one country but in all ; and, where more comprehensive terms are employed, not merely on this side of the grave but on the other also.

This language has been repeated without being realised ; so much so that when it is brought home to men that their baptism introduces them not into the Church of England merely but into the Catholic Church, they look dazed and bewildered, as though it were too good or too bad to be true. And for the same reason the word “Reunion,” with them, signifies some wild or utopian idea having to do with a “Foreign Church” as they term it. The fact, however, remains that the language of the Prayer Book is but the echo in the present day of what the Fathers were ever proclaiming in primitive times ; while the language of primitive times is a

faithful reflection of the doctrine of Unity in Scripture; the same majestic truth confronting us throughout, and following us wherever we elect to take our stand, like the eyes of a picture, in spite of all our attempts to elude it.

SECTION V.—*Types of Unity.*

Now, with this picture of Unity in our minds it is impossible to acquiesce in what we see; and we find ourselves constrained either to reduce the difficulty by attempting to explain it away, or to throw ourselves with energy and determination into the enterprise of Reunion in order to resolve it. The question is—Are we to wind up our dogma at the risk of alienating men, or to relax it in order to attract them? The Undenominational type of Unity follows the latter course, and the Catholic type the former: the basis of Undenominational Unity being a common sentiment; and of Catholic Unity, a common faith. And since what is known as the “Branch theory” has in more recent times been advanced by one school of thought within the Church of England, it may be convenient to recognise this as a third and distinct type of unity.

I.

1. The Roman Type. “The prayer of Christ,” says Father Ryder, “was not for something that once was, and then was lost to the Church, but it secured that which ever was and ever will be her possession.”

“True though it be,” writes Newman, “that St. Paul, St. Luke, and St. John, when engaged on historical fact speak of many ‘churches,’ the style of Scripture changes when it speaks of the great Christian gifts doctrinally.

“In presence of these Gospel prerogatives there is but one body with many members. Our Lord builds upon the rock of Peter and of Peter’s faith, not churches, but ‘My Church;’

St. Paul speaks of the 'House of God, the Church of the living God,' in which Timothy is called to be a ruler, and not of 'churches;' of the Church being 'the pillar and ground of the truth.' Again he speaks as of 'One God and Father of all, one Lord, one Spirit, one faith, one hope, one baptism,' so also of but 'one body,' and again our Lord as 'the Head of the body, the Church,' not 'of the churches.' . . . Is it not clear, then, that according to St. Paul, the whole Church comes first, and its portions or individual members come second, that its portions are not wholes, that they are accidents, but the one whole body is no accident, no conglomerate, but the object of Apostolic zeal, and the direct and primary recipient of divine grace?"

And Lacordaire: "The Catholic Church proceeds by the way of exclusion, whilst all heresies and schisms proceed by the way of reunion. The Church excludes all, without exception, who contradict her, and yet she is universal; whilst heresy draws to itself even those who contradict it, and yet this does not save heresy from being limited to particular localities."

2. The Anglican Type. "It is our theory, that each diocese is an integral Church, intercommunion being a duty (and the breach of it a sin) but not essential to Catholicity."

"The Unity of the Church lay, not in its being a polity, but in its being a family, a race, coming down by Apostolic descent from its first founders and bishops."¹

Writing again in 1882, forty years later, Newman, in the course of an allusion to William Palmer, wrote thus:—

"He was one of those earnest-minded and devout men, forty years since, who, deeply convinced of the great truth that our Lord had instituted, and still acknowledges and protects a visible Church—one, individual, and integral—Catholic, as spread over the earth, Apostolic as coeval with the Apostles of Christ, and Holy, as being the dispenser of His Word and Sacraments—considered it at present to exist in three main branches, or rather in a triple presence, the Latin,

¹ *Apologia*, pp. 106, 107.

the Greek, and the Anglican, these three being one and the same Church distinguishable from each other only by secondary, fortuitous, and local, though important characteristics. And, whereas the whole Church in its fulness was, as they believed, at once and severally Anglican, Greek, and Latin, so in turn each one of those three was the whole Church; whence it followed that whenever any one of the three was present, the other two, by the nature of the case, were absent, and therefore the three could not have direct relations with each other, as if they were three substantive bodies, there being no real difference between them except the external accident of place. Moreover, since as has been said on a given territory there could not be more than one of the three, it followed that Christians generally, wherever they were, were bound to recognise, and had a claim to be recognised by, that one, ceasing to belong to the Anglican Church, as Anglican, when they were at Rome, and ignoring Rome as Rome, when they found themselves at Moscow. Lastly, not to acknowledge this inevitable outcome of the initial idea of the Church, viz., that it was both everywhere and one, was bad logic, and to act in opposition to it was nothing short of setting up altar against altar, that is, the hideous sin of schism, and a sacrilege."

"This," he goes on to say, "I conceive to be the formal teaching of Anglicanism; this is what we held and professed in Oxford forty years ago; this is what Mr. Palmer intensely believed and energetically acted upon when he went to Russia."

3. The Undenominational Type. Not daring to hope for any ultimate agreement on the basis of doctrine and yet anxious to fulfil at least the spirit of our Lord's ideal, the Undenominational school call for a union of hearts and of sentiments, while they deprecate the too frequent reference to dogmatics.

The danger, though not the intention, here is lest unity as a sentiment should be preferred to truth; and the mistake consists in supposing that an aggregation of bodies necessarily

signifies a communion of souls. Men enter the portals of Undenominationalism with the understanding that any definite and differentiating truths they may hold must be hidden away or kept in the background, otherwise the situation will be disturbed or destroyed.

Certain sacraments are necessary to salvation, but let us act as though they were not, or we shall have to separate. Thus it is the sentiment of being together that occupies the first place, while the dignity and value of truth has to be content with the second. But this is to reverse the divine, that is, the true process; sin being a principle of separation everywhere; of separation between man and his Maker on the one hand, and between man and his neighbour on the other; while truth is discovered to us by God for the express purpose of uniting us to Himself and to one another. "Known unto God are all His works from the foundation of the world;" and where the parts of those works have drifted asunder only God knows how to piece them together again.

Thus it is true that we ought to come together; but it is also true that we can do so and remain so only on the basis of truth. Experience points this way, since the very Communion which keeps the most jealous hold upon dogma is also the Communion which has always comprised the majority of Christians; whereas societies which have not allowed dogma to stand in the way have invariably ended in dissolution. Lacordaire brings out this distinction by contrasting union with unity. "Never are two men so near a quarrel," he says, "as when embracing each other without love." And again: "Union is the deceitful shadow of unity. . . . Consider the Protestants. Who have spoken more about union than they? Who have toiled for it more? And yet they are all divided."

It has to be remembered, then, that the same Lord who prayed that we might be "one," also enjoined upon His Apostles the duty of teaching us to observe whatsoever He had commanded them. That is, there were to be terms of communion; not peace at any price.

II.

Of these three principal types, then, I think it will be allowed that the Roman appears to come nearest to the ideal of Unity presented to us by our Lord and portrayed in the commencement of this chapter. For if the computation be correct that when we reckon by tens of millions, the Roman, Greek, and Anglican Communions are related as 24 : 10 : $2\frac{1}{2}$; and if the wondrous history of the Holy See, extending over so long a duration of time, and maintaining its identity in spite of continuous opposition, have anything to teach us, we shall be constrained to allow that the vast body of the Roman Communion, numerically, historically, and philosophically holds the first place : numerically because she comprises no fewer than 240,000,000 of Christians ; historically, because in Scripture and throughout the entire range of Church History she occupies a position at once unique and conspicuous, having a special relation, moreover, to ourselves as the mother of our Christianity ; and, philosophically, because she everywhere teaches the same faith and has in all times consistently claimed submission from those outside her.

If these are facts, and if it be true that no philosophy can endure that is not based upon facts, it must be right to face them. I am not denying, of course, that the unity of the Roman Church is put to a severe strain from time to time by scandals, whether in the shape of rivalries or jealousies, developing sometimes into open exhibitions of rebellion, or of graver sins ; but so far as these are real they only serve to enhance the wonder of that to which I am calling attention. And this is one of the rare cases that are capable of being brought to the touchstone of experiment, and upon which those outside the Roman Communion itself are in a position to form a judgment. Will any Roman Catholic priest, for instance, declare from his pulpit to-day : "The so-called dogma of the Immaculate Conception is not true ; you have no call to believe it ; and so is it, dear brethren, with Papal

Infallibility. These dogmas are confidently preached about, of course, in many of our churches, but where will you find them in your Bibles? You know, as well as I, that not a few of the Bishops at the Vatican Council opposed the latter of these definitions: very well, put away this strange fancy from among you."

Now, is it not certain, in such an event, that the preacher would in due course be put to silence? Or again, what would happen if on another Sunday he preached against Confession, or denied the Real Presence of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament; or declaimed against Eucharistic Adoration; or warned his congregation against the delusion of supposing that the "Table" was an "Altar;" or that he could in any sense himself be called a priest? How long would he be allowed to teach that it was a mistake to regard Tradition as a source of revelation; or that the congregation must only believe what he said so far as they could prove it from Scripture? How many more Sundays would he be allowed to preach after gravely assuring his people that Mass is not a service of obligation; or that since the subject of Indulgences is obscure and difficult they need not concern themselves about it?

It cannot be denied that for such an one an apparatus there certainly is, ready at hand and specially designed for bringing him to his senses; and that henceforth it would be a question merely of weeks, or perhaps of days; sufficient time, that is, for bringing such an apparatus into play, before he would be put to silence? And why put to silence? In order merely to suppress him? In order to humiliate him? Not so, but in order to save his flock;—"that the world may believe."

Now you may quarrel with this; you may resent what perhaps you describe as the imperious and drastic methods that Rome allows herself to adopt; but deep down in your mind, where your judgment ultimately settles itself you will be constrained to recognise in all this the reality of Government and

one principal secret of her unity and strength. The Bishops who opposed the dogma of infallibility while it was under discussion submitted to it in the event; Döllinger, one of the most distinguished theologians of his day, refused to submit and was formally cut off. It is important to recognise the virtue of fact; and doctrinal unity is a fact in the Roman Communion.

From the very beginning Christians have been described as being with some one, that is, with some visible person. At first it was—with the visible Christ; subsequently the phrase is—"Peter and those that were with him;" and the test of unity in the Roman Church to-day is—a state of being in communion with the See of Peter; and her contention is that this unity has never been interrupted from the first.

Thus to a devout Roman Catholic the question of a divided Christendom is one that calls for anxious consideration; whereas from his standpoint the mere suggestion of a divided Church is shocking.

CHAPTER III.

ST. PETER.

WE have said that what held so prominent a place in our Lord's Prayer must have also occupied a principal place in the elaboration of His plan.

In all great human situations it is so : the will comes first and then the way ; the one following upon the other in a natural and necessary sequence ; the painstaking and laborious process that is at work in the mind being the correlative of the consuming desire that is burning in the heart.

To this every great invention in physical science, and every great movement in Church or State, may be traced.

It is by means of this undying fire that is ever ascending from the centre and soul of man's innermost self, that the whole machinery of thought is set in motion in the first instance and kept in motion afterwards ; and mind and body alike would faint under the burden that was laid upon them but for this antecedent and accompanying action of the heart.

SECTION I.—*Principles of Interpretation.*

I.

Now our Lord, we know, is God, but He does not therefore cease to be Man ; and the action of His human nature would so far follow the course of human nature, though without the interruptions of sin. The outpourings of His heart, and the

deep strong yearnings of His soul would be transformed within His mind into that strenuous energy of thought and that elaborate and perfect contrivance of means that were necessary to His great purpose ; and as we may recognise the character of that purpose in the words with which He announces it at the beginning so may we realise the intensity of His purpose in the solemn prayer that He said at the end. "I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished !"

First, it is—"The kingdom of heaven is at hand"—'This is what I have come for ; I shall say many words and I shall do many works, but after all it is but one work that I am doing and one word that I am saying—The kingdom of heaven.'

And next, 'I pray for the subjects of this kingdom, that they may be one, since a kingdom that is divided against itself cannot stand. I have kept them while I was in the world, and now do Thou keep them, that they may be one as We are one.'

This, then, is what I am keeping before me, to make the prayer in St. John xvii. the starting-point of all our studies upon the subject of Unity ; to let it exert its due pressure so as to secure for the doctrine the first place in our thoughts, and so prepare us to expect and to appreciate the elaborate plan that must in due course unfold itself from the divine mind. Thus, not merely the energy to go forward with the work but the power of mind to continue and to plan it, may be traced to this central fire. It is an exhibition of what St. Paul sets before us when he prays that our "love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and in all judgment."

II.

Now, if a prayer of such solemn intensity is calculated to quicken our sense of the magnitude of Christ's work and to prepare us for that elaboration of plan which is necessary to its accomplishment, shall we not be right in taking our Lord's

announcement into our hands at the outset and using it as a clue through the intricate windings of His purpose to the end? Each separate saying and each situation in the Gospel must be referred to the announcement that appears at its head.

What has this saying, what has this action to do with "The Kingdom"?—will be the ever-recurring question throughout. The act of deliberation that should precede every great undertaking is what our Saviour so earnestly commends to His own disciples; and since He appeals to this as to a principle of universal application we cannot be wrong in reverently applying it to Himself. The two illustrations by which He seeks to enforce the lesson, and to which some allusion has already been made, are those of the king about to make war with another king, and the man intending to build a tower; and our Lord is exercising the common sense of His disciples when He asks: 'Would any one of you, intending to build a tower, begin the building without sitting down first to count the cost?' Or, to state this in another way, 'Would any king be so unwise as to declare war against another king without first asking himself whether he had sufficient forces for the enterprise?'

Such is the direct appeal our Lord makes to the judgment of His disciples, and—may we not reverently say it—much more unlikely is it that the Son of Man who is the King of Kings would begin to build His Church without sitting down first to deliberate upon the materials He had at His command; much more unlikely is it that the King of Kings would go to war with another king, the prince of this world, without sitting down first to contemplate that divine plan upon which His operations were to be carried out.

III.

If we are to regard the Oxford Movement, then, as having for its aim the recovery of Catholic positions, one phase of that movement, I think, must necessarily be the recovery of Catholic

interpretations, and one step towards this is to contemplate the mind of Christ so far as He has been pleased to disclose it to us, and to look out upon the operations of that mind through His eyes and not through our own ; to see what He says and does in the light of His purpose, and as part of His divine plan. And it will become evident to us, I think, from the reiteration of the one thought of Unity and the earnestness with which His prayer was uttered, that as the Kingdom of Heaven was the purpose of our Lord's ministerial life, so the Unity of the visible Kingdom was the thought that lay nearest to His heart. And the question is whether this dominant thought of Unity took a more particular shape in our Lord's mind and in the working out of His purpose, and if so, what that particular shape was ; and in attempting to find an answer we shall come to see, I think, that as the prominent idea in our Lord's mind is the idea of Unity so the prominent person in His mind is the person of St. Peter.

IV.

The imperative thought—This must be done—is succeeded always by the deliberative thought—How shall I do it ? And the question now before us is whether our Lord's words and works in the New Testament, judged in the light of subsequent interpretations on the one hand and subsequent confusions on the other, discover to us the line of action upon which He determined.

SECTION II.—*The Visible Head.*

I.

As, then, our Lord has proclaimed His purpose, we take up our position with the idea of a kingdom in our minds, and look and listen as He goes on to unfold it.

He begins by selecting and separating certain individuals from the crowd. One by one He calls them, and one by one

they come ; until it becomes evident that an inner circle is being educated into a society ; and the distinction between this inner circle and the general multitude outside is preserved throughout. Turning to His own disciples He says : " Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom, but unto others in parables." So He draws them to Himself, nourishes them with His teaching, and passes them through a process of education, bringing the various members together and fitting them for their several functions, until at length and in due time, when the Day of Pentecost is fully come, there is a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the little body, and they are discharged into the world as a divine society. They lived as all offspring lives before the day of their birth, but it was not until that day that they came before the world as a body. We shall have to ask presently whether one member in this body was brought out into prominence from the first and tried and strengthened for a special work that he was to perform afterwards ; meantime, from beginning to end of our Lord's ministerial life He supplied, in His own person, the visible centre of the visible group. If the disciples left all it was to follow Him ; if they were taught and trained it was our Lord Himself who trained and taught them ; and if He sent them forth to preach, they were subsequently to be seen gravitating back to Him to render an account of their mission. Now if we join ourselves to this little group, and enter into their state of mind, we shall come to see that such daily continuous acts of companionship must have ripened into habit, and accustomed the society so far to look up to our Lord, and to recognise in Him their visible Head ; and this initial state must have belonged to His plan or He would not have pursued it.

It might have been the will of God to regenerate mankind without the visible interposition of man, but from the very outset He has never done so ; in the supreme moment of the Incarnation He interposed an outward and visible sign of His inward and spiritual grace in the Manifestation of the Man

Christ Jesus ; and the first glimpse we are allowed to have of the disciples discovers also a Visible Head in their midst.

II.

But if there was a Visible Head at the outset, was there also to be a visible head to the end ? If so, we should expect to see indications of this purpose in the general constitution of human society and in the words and actions which unfold to us this particular divine plan.

Now, in all human societies the fact of prominence is the necessary accompaniment of the fact of unity. A number of men without a common purpose constitute a crowd ; on the other hand, a number of men with a common purpose constitute a society ; and a society implies and requires government. Plunge a society into the element of this world without a leader to-day, and it will come to the surface with a leader to-morrow.

Either special provision must be made for a head at the outset, or it will spontaneously produce one afterwards, or else it will evaporate in the event. All experience points this way : government is everywhere necessary if societies are not to degenerate into crowds ; and government means the prominence of a few or of one. The very inequality of mankind at once creates and provides for the necessity of government.

First comes the assembly, and next the question as to who shall preside ; first comes the meeting, and then the question as to who shall occupy the chair. History witnesses again and again to the attempts that have been made to dispense with a head, and always with the same result.

The means by which the head is secured may vary, and the name by which he is described is not, of course, everywhere the same, but the fact of headship may be described as an enduring as well as a universal fact ; and where any particular society is found to be breaking up we are generally heard to protest that there was no one to hold the members together.

When, for instance, the troops of various countries were despatched to China in the year 1900, in consequence of the serious massacres there, the question of a Commander-in-Chief came up at once ; and meantime a correspondent from Tientsin wrote : "There is no disagreement between the Commanders, but in the absence of a recognised head several are disposed to follow their own methods and simply abstain from operations contrary to those methods." A Commander-in-Chief was in due course sent out, and unity of action followed.

III.

If, then, societies of men, all the world over, are kept together by their respective heads,—name them how you will,—Emperors, Kings, Czars, Presidents, Prime Ministers, Commanders-in-Chief, Admirals, Speakers, Grand Masters ; and if in all such cases the death of one presiding officer is followed at once and as a matter of course by the appointment of another to succeed him ; and if this fact is so universally recognised that any one who should presume in the present day to call it in question would be at once laughed to scorn and put to silence ; is it not inevitable to conclude that He who knew what was in man would recognise this characteristic ; is it not certain that He who, as the great Prophet of the world, must have foreseen that conspicuous and continuous exhibition of it that we witness in the constitution of the Roman Church to-day would also have proceeded either to make special provision for its security, or to counteract the universal tendency to which I have alluded by expressly withdrawing the visible Church from the plane of its influence ? This will serve to show what I mean by the attitude of deliberation on our Lord's part and the special attention that ought to be paid to it on ours.

It is impossible for us to look out upon the world to-day, or to look back upon the world of yesterday, or forward upon the world of to-morrow, and not to discern ■ head wherever we

descrie a society. This is so universal a fact that we may describe it as a law of God's providence ; and if the visible Church was destined and therefore designed to take up and to maintain its place in surroundings which are everywhere governed by this law, is it not just that the argument for St. Peter's headship in the Apostolic College should so far have the benefit of this law, and that in the shape of a presumption that what is recognised in every other situation should be provided for also in this ? And this will serve also to show the bearing of a crisis upon the interpretation of the sacred text. The Oxford Movement, as I have elsewhere observed, has carried us forward from one stage to another until at length we are face to face with the entire Catholic idea. This is, I believe, the true account of our present case ; the confusion around us is real precisely because the view that we have caught of the Universal Church is vivid. And will any one say that we shall find ourselves handling the Petrine texts at this later stage precisely as we handled them at the first ? No ; in the light of the present moment we shall be led to do our utmost with them in the direction of Reunion, and not away from it. It is everywhere recognised that the present order, or disorder, is a state of things which cannot endure ; and this throws us back again upon first principles and upon the reconsideration of old texts.

IV.

It will, I think, be allowed that the subject of the Petrine texts and of the position assigned to St. Peter in the Bible and in the subsequent history of the Church has not been generally and seriously considered by ourselves. It is seldom, if ever, treated in our pulpits ; seldom, if ever, introduced into clerical or other discussions. In a few controversial writings, of course, it has come to the front, but this does not bring it under the notice of the general reader. Meantime, the assumption has slowly and almost imperceptibly insinuated itself into our

minds that the whole Church of England at some point of time in the past, after a solemn and careful reconsideration of the passages before us, deliberately repudiated the ancient interpretation of their meaning. But this is not, I think, the case ; and would it not be truer to say that the changes of the Reformation came first and that the new explanations were made to conform to these changes afterwards ?

Let the case be fairly considered. The Rule of Faith points us to the Bible and to primitive times ; to the teaching of Scripture and what the Catholic Fathers collected out of the same. How many people in our congregations have been made aware of this teaching in its bearing upon the Petrine texts ? St. Cyprian was a favourite author with the late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Dr. Pusey almost accepted him as an exponent, or at least as one whose writings justified the position of the Anglican Church. But whereas many of our people read and are encouraged to read their Bibles, how many of them are acquainted with the writings of the Fathers ? How many of them have listened to an instruction on the subject of St. Peter and the Holy See according to Cyprian ; or upon the same subject as expounded by St. Chrysostom ?

How many of them have given their attention to the subject of the First Four Councils, all of which are acknowledged by the Anglican Communion ?

At the time of the last of these Councils, St. Leo was Bishop of the Apostolic See ; how many members of any congregation in England know what was St. Leo's estimate of his own position, or how he was deliberately addressed in a Synodal letter which emanated from that Council (A.D. 451) ?

“ ‘For thou art Peter,’ that is, whilst I am the immutable Rock, I the Corner-stone who make both one, I the foundation beside which no one can lay another ; yet thou also art a rock, because by My virtue thou art firmly planted, so that whatever is peculiar to Me, by power, is to thee by participation common with Me,—‘and upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.’ ” And again :

"The privilege of Peter, therefore, remaineth. . . ." And once more : "Out of the whole world Peter alone is chosen to preside over the calling of all the Gentiles, and over all the Apostles and the collected Fathers of the Church ; so that, though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission, whom Christ also rules by sovereign power." Such is St. Leo's interpretation of the Petrine text ; and he plainly regarded himself as the successor of St. Peter and as holding a unique position in relation to the whole Church of God.

How, on the other hand, did the Council of Chalcedon regard him ? Did it not declare, in a synodal letter, that, in the persons of his legates, "he presided over them as the head over the members" ? Did not the Council say that Leo was "entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine" ?

This falls well within the compass of what is recognised as a basis of Anglicanism ; but how many of the English people have been made acquainted with it ?

If our congregations are to be admonished to test our teaching of Scripture by having recourse to the sacred text for themselves, should they not be referred in the same way also to the Fathers ?

Under such circumstances would it be possible for the multitude of people to continue to entertain the loose notions they now hold upon the subject of Unity in general, or of St. Peter in particular ?

Is not the true answer to this question that the whole study of the Fathers has been only gradually dawning upon the Church of England ?

There are a considerable number of people living among us now who were also alive when Newman wrote these words :

"Consider," he said, "that at the present moment (1839), in the three great literary countries of Europe—Germany, France, and England—translations of the Fathers, in series,

are now in course of publication, by a simultaneous and apparently independent movement in each place. . . . All these are signs of change, not in this or that individual, but in the public mind. The reading public is coming under the influence of notions and convictions very different from those which have been fashionable of late. . . . England cannot any longer be Calvinistic or Zuinglian or Lutheran. . . .”

“Very different from those which have been fashionable of late,” and “cannot any longer be Calvinistic.” Thus it may be said that seventy years ago the Fathers were practically unknown among us. But coming to more recent years, how many ordination candidates knew a single line of a single Father, twenty years ago ; and if they did not know them before their ordination, how many of them were at the pains to read them afterwards ?

And at the present moment how many of the clergy are in the habit of studying the Fathers ? A considerable number, it may be said ; an increasing number ; certainly, but what proportion do they bear to the whole ? And furthermore, what chance have the Petrine texts had in this absence of patristic reading ? In the rare instances in which attempt has been made to expound them they have been examined in the light of a dreary and unanalysed prejudice. But for the most part it is true, I think, to say that they have been left severely alone.

The case at present, then, appears to stand thus :—A large majority of the clergy, and we may almost say the entire body of the laity, while devoting themselves to one constituent of the Catholic basis, know nothing whatever about the other. Plainly, therefore, our efforts towards reunion require to be more methodical and elaborate ; and if some knowledge of the Fathers were required as an essential condition of ordination the clergy would have passed through a scientific education upon the subject of Unity, and we should have a larger measure of agreement among ourselves and in relation to others.

However this may be, it is certain that in many instances when attention has been directed to the prominence of St. Peter in the Gospels and Acts, and the interpretation put upon this prominence by the Fathers, the phenomenon has broken upon us like some new revelation.

V.

When writing on the subject of the Petrine texts, some forty years ago, Robert Wilberforce accounted for this anomaly by suggesting that the traditional interpretation of Scripture, prevalent in his day, was derived in great measure from writers who were not Episcopalians, such as Calvin, Luther, Drusius, Grotius ; and, coming nearer to his own day, Henry Doddridge, and others. "The one Anglican commentator of importance," he writes, "is Hammond." As, then, we ceased to know our Roman Catholic brethren, in earlier days, because they were withdrawn from public notice by the operation of the penal laws and barely tolerated by the society of those times, so the entire Catholic interpretation of the Bible was simply away until the Oxford Movement brought it back to us.

The study of the Fathers revived the notion of a visible Church and more particularly of that Unity which is the first note of the Church ; and the doctrine of Unity brought us face to face with other Communion, and especially with Rome ; next, among the advanced section, came societies and projects for Reunion, until thirty years after the commencement of the Oxford Movement distinct advances were made to the Holy See ; and now at length and in due course the Petrine texts have come up for consideration. And until our attention is called to these passages we are apt to pass over the various commentaries upon them that are scattered up and down the Fathers, and so to deal with these writers as we have sometimes dealt with the writers of the New Testament, and to see only what we bring with us and not all that is really there.

There is, of course, no question as to the integrity of our Dissenting brethren, and yet they are only now beginning to recognise symptoms of Episcopacy in the pages of the New Testament ; and we know that there are whole books in that portion of the Bible in which we may search in vain for any allusion to the government of the Church.

And so with the Fathers ; it is true, of course, that St. Cyprian speaks of the Apostles all having received equal power —“Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power.” St. Cyprian said this, but then he also said : “There is one Church and one Chair, founded by the voice of the Lord upon a rock.” He also called the See of Rome “The Chair of Peter and the principal Church ; whence the Unity of the Priesthood took its rise, and to which faithlessness can have no access.” And so in quoting from the Fathers throughout. Nothing is stranger than this law of our minds which enables us to be so near to a subject and yet not to come into any living contact with it : and to reiterate and reiterate as I am doing now ; and to gravitate back and back again to the one point constitutes the process that is known as bringing a subject under the reader’s notice.

One and the same neighbourhood may present itself to the mind of an archaeologist as—quaint and alive with interesting remains ; while to the mind of a farmer it is known—to have a famous soil ; whereas a clergyman who is said to be acquainted with every inch of the ground knows it as—his parish.

So the strong practical man of the world sees the Bible and has his own way of viewing it ; for after all “What does the Lord require of thee, but to do justice, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God ?” What chance will any question of doctrine be found to have at such a moment and with such a man ! He will travel over the ground of doctrine as every one must who reads his Bible, but he will do so as one who is on his way elsewhere ; and it is the “elsewhere” that is the governing thought. Such thoughts are found to drive the

mind on before them as a master would a school of boys, for whom to glance for a moment to the right hand or to the left may be suffered ; whereas to fall out of the ranks and seriously to examine what they see is understood to be against the rule.

So Petrine texts within the Bible and impressive commentaries upon them in the Fathers outside do not lie in the direct line of our route ; we catch sight of them from time to time as we pass, but it would be contrary to our habits to fall out of the ranks to examine them.

But let our attention on some particular day be expressly directed to them, so that the end and aim of our mind's excursion shall be no longer merely to see them but also to take up our abode and dwell there ; then all is changed.

And since the need of the hour is some one to guide, and Holy Scripture provides a universal basis, no portion of the sacred text must be shut off from view ; nor any merely modern interpretation of it be suffered to monopolise the ground. Our confusion is daily before us and drives us of necessity on to those very passages which speak to us of government, and therefore of the proportion of persons within the Apostolic College ; and whereas it is possible to crowd the mind and almost to drown the judgment with a flood of forgeries :—"The forged Arabic Canons of Nicæa ;" Cyprianic Interpolations ; the False Decretals ; and other serious obstructions ; and so to bewilder and exhaust our spirits before we arrive at the plain wording of Scripture, we have to learn how to deal with such obstructions when we come to them and also how to pass them by. No stone must be left unturned that may serve to promote that Unity which is according to our Lord's will, and the absence of which, therefore, is found seriously to impede our progress.

With such thoughts in my mind, then, I shall make some attempt to set down in outline the evidence upon this subject as it presents itself to us in Scripture and as it has been interpreted for us by the Catholic Fathers of the Church.

SECTION III.—*The First—Simon.*

And first, I shall call attention to the prominence of St. Peter in the Gospels, and in the first half of the Acts, and then go on to ask what bearing this prominence has upon the question that is before us.

I.

In the four Gospels, the name “Peter” is mentioned as often as ninety-one times, whereas the name which comes next to his, viz. St. John, appears only thirty-eight times within the compass of the entire New Testament.

And this prominence is more marked when we come to the Acts, that is to the period immediately succeeding the withdrawal of our Lord’s Visible Presence ; for here, in the course of the first twelve chapters, relating as they do to the history of the Church in the days of its foundation, the name Peter occurs more than fifty times ; no other Apostle being mentioned within the same compass more than seven or eight times.

Now, mere quantity, of course, is not to be mistaken for quality ; and men are not necessarily good or great because their names are constantly in print ; it will be necessary, therefore, to seek for a proper explanation of this prominence.

Meantime it is a fact that after an oral Gospel had been developed and delineated in the minds of the Apostles, and all things had been brought to their remembrance by the Holy Spirit, sayings, events, and persons came before them in a certain shape and assumed a certain proportion ; our Lord Himself appearing as the unique figure of all, and the prominent person after Him being the person of St. Peter. They looked back upon the great moving scene of the Gospel, and that is how they saw it ; they sat down to write, and that is how they described it. It may be well to set down the figures in order that we may have them before us :—

The Four	{	St. Peter 91 ;	
Gospels	{	The next—St. John 38 in	{ Entire New
			Testament.
Acts i.-xii.	{	St. Peter 50 ;	
		The next 8.	

Now, if we follow and examine this prominence we trace it up eventually to a point in our Lord's mind where it will be found to form part of His divine purpose.

Let us place ourselves again, then, by the side of the sacred writers and observe the order in which they are led to set down the names of the twelve Apostles. St. Matthew commences thus : "The first, Simon ;" and the four lists may here be transcribed :—

St. Matthew.

1. Simon }
2. Andrew }
3. James }
4. John }
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Thomas
8. Matthew
9. James of Alphæus
10. Lebbaeus
11. Simon the Canaanite
12. Judas Iscariot

St. Luke.

1. Simon }
2. Andrew }
3. James }
4. John }
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Matthew
8. Thomas
9. James
10. Simon Zelotes
11. Jude of James
12. Judas Iscariot

St. Mark.

1. Simon
2. James }
3. John }
4. Andrew
5. Philip
6. Bartholomew
7. Matthew
8. Thomas
9. James
10. Thaddeus
11. Simon the Canaanite
12. Judas Iscariot

Acts.

1. Peter
2. John }
3. James }
4. Andrew
5. Philip
6. Thomas
7. Bartholomew
8. Matthew
9. James
10. Simon Zelotes
11. Judas of James

Thus, in the above lists, the name of Simon Peter appears first and that of Judas Iscariot last in every case. Other names vary ; these never.

Upon what principle is this order based ? It would appear to be the principle of precedence in dignity. Thus, so far, we have seen that among the persons who belong to the great situation in the Gospels the name of St. Peter stands out from all the rest, after the name of our Lord ; and in the lists of these persons his name is designedly set down first in every case.

II.

Now, that it is precedence in dignity that explains this prominence is a conviction that grows upon us as we come to look more closely into it ; for when we pass from the formal lists of the Apostles to the less formal narratives of events in which they have played their part, the same phenomenon meets us.

- 1 Gospels : (1) "Peter and the two sons of Zebedee."
- (2) "And Jesus said, Who touched Me ? When all denied, Peter and they that were with him. . . ."
- (3) "Simon (our Lord is addressing all the Apostles through Peter) Simon, Satan hath desired to have you [plural] : . . . but I have prayed for thee. . . ."
- (4) "And Simon and they that were with him followed after Him."
- (5) "Go, tell His disciples and Peter."
- 2 Acts : (1) "Peter standing up with the Eleven."
- (2) "Peter filled with the Holy Ghost, saith, If we this day be examined. . . ."
- (3) "Then Peter and the other Apostles answered. . . ."

Here, again, as the sacred writers came to look back, and the procession of events, the series of situations, passed before their eyes, St. Peter stood out from the rest. So they saw him, so, in a natural way, they described him.

And one instance, which occurs beyond the limits we had

proposed, may here be mentioned. In relating the appearances of our Lord St. Paul writes, "He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve."

Thus it is not merely that St. Peter's name is mentioned a great number of times, and that it appears first on the lists of the Apostles, but the same proportion appears in the less formal groupings of the Gospel narrative.

III.

If, again, we lift our eyes from the mere name as such and the order in which it is mentioned and place ourselves at St. Peter's side as we traverse the pages of the Gospels and the Acts, he appears always in front. Thus :—

- 1 Gospels : (1) The Disciples are in a boat on the Sea of Galilee, and it is St. Peter who distinguishes himself from the rest, and asks our Lord to invite him : "Lord, if it be Thou, bid me come to Thee on the water." He steps out of the boat and surpasses the rest.
- (2) St. Peter acts as spokesman for the rest. "Declare unto us this parable."
- (3) St. Peter in answer to the question ("Whom say ye that I am?") declares, "Thou art the Christ."
- (4) At the Mount of Transfiguration James and John are also there, but it is Peter who speaks, and speaks for all, "It is good for us to be here. . . ."
- (5) St. Peter follows our Lord to the place of Judgment.
- (6) To St. Peter the news of the Resurrection is expressly conveyed in the first instance, and St. Paul, as we have seen, records the fact. "He was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve."
- (7) To St. Peter it is said, "Feed My lambs. . . . Feed My sheep."
- 2 Acts : (1) The place of Judas is to be filled ; who is to fill it? "In those days Peter stood up in the midst of the disciples, and said, Men and brethren, this Scripture

must needs have been fulfilled which the Holy Ghost by the mouth of David spake. . . . [In relation to Judas Iscariot]. . . . Wherefore, of these men which have companied with us all the time . . . must one be ordained to be a witness with us of His Resurrection."

Thus it has been truly said that it is Peter who "opens the deliberations of the widowed Church, proposes the subject of debate, and prescribes the course of proceeding."

- (2) On the Day of Pentecost "Peter, standing up with the Eleven," defends the brethren, and amplifies his defence into a sermon, which he concludes with these words: "Therefore, let all the House of Israel know assuredly that God hath made that same Jesus, whom ye have crucified, both Lord and Christ."

The multitude, being pricked in the heart, "said unto Peter and to the rest of the apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do?" Peter at once undertakes to answer, "Repent, and be baptised every one of you. . . ."

- (3) In the miracle at the Gate, Peter and John are associated in the good work, but it is Peter who actually performs the miracle, and Peter who addresses the people afterwards.
- (4) When the Apostles are summoned before the Council it is St. Peter who vindicates his brother and himself.
- (5) In the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.) St. Peter takes the lead by laying down the basis for a decision; St. James, as local Bishop, appeals to his statement and gives his judgment accordingly. There had previously been "much disputing," then at length Peter stands up and addresses them thus:—

"Men and brethren, ye know how that a good while ago God made choice among us, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. And God, which knoweth the hearts, bare

them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as He did unto us ; and put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith.

"Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear ?

"But we believe that through the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they."

The next to speak are Barnabas and Paul, and they are able from their own experience to corroborate what St. Peter has been saying ; "declaring what miracles and wonders God has wrought among the Gentiles by them."

At length and in the end St. James, the local Bishop, speaks. James answered, saying : "Men and brethren, hearken unto me : Simeon hath declared how God at the first did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for His name. And to this agree the words of the prophets ; as it is written" (here a quotation from Amos. ix. 11, 12), and then at last : "Wherefore my sentence is," etc., etc.

Now, regarding this passage as it stands, divesting ourselves as far as we may of our prejudices and of all the "festerings of resentments" of later days, and having entered within the precincts of Scripture, let us shut to the door and merely as Bible Christians see what this situation can do for us, by asking what proportion of things obtained in this Council.

The occasion may be said to comprise several moments.

- (a) Paul and Barnabas are at Antioch, and a great dispute arises about Circumcision, certain men having come down from Judæa and taught the brethren that except they were circumcised after the manner of Moses they could not be saved.

After much dissension and disputation it is determined that Paul and Barnabas "should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about this question."

Now, the latter half of the book of the Acts is devoted, as

we know, to the special and wonderful experiences of St. Paul, and it is sometimes therefore supposed that he supplanted St. Peter, but the situation before us incidentally shows that this could not have been. About this more may be said later. Meantime in a momentous question having to do with the Faith, St. Paul did not take upon himself to decide the matter, but came with Barnabas to Jerusalem.

- (b) Next we find ourselves at the Council, "The Apostles and elders came together for to consider of this matter."

After much disputing, "Peter rose up and said . . ."

The very question before them had been expressly revealed to Peter in the vision of the sheet let down from Heaven. And now he makes a declaration of principle.

- (c) Paul and Barnabas, the two who had come expressly from Antioch to lay the matter before the Apostolic body, naturally state their experiences in order to show how facts, in the shape of miraculous works, served to confirm the principle St. Peter had laid down. It was, as we may say, giving their evidence before the Council.
- (d) The local Bishop then gives his vote, expressly basing it upon the declaration of principle laid down by St. Peter.
- (e) "Then pleased it the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men. . . . And they wrote letters by them after this manner: The Apostles and elders and brethren send greeting unto the brethren who are of the Gentiles in Antioch, etc."

Regarding the situation as a whole, is not St. Peter the visible centre of it, and is not the moment of his declaration the decisive moment? Had we been present at the Council as strangers from outside, should we not have given this account of the matter?

Come now to the latter end of the nineteenth century, and a dispute arises not upon the subject of the great Jewish rite,

but upon the subject of incense. Here, again, there is much disputing, until at length the Archbishop rises up and speaks. A local Bishop then "answers" this by addressing the clergy of his diocese, "Men and brethren, hearken unto me : The Archbishop has declared . . . wherefore my sentence is that we adopt his declaration. . . ."

The case, of course, is not a complete parallel ; there is no parallel in the very nature of things to the Apostolic situation. Christians all over the earth, whether Roman, Greek, Anglican or otherwise, recognise that "all the Apostles were equal in point of order, of spiritual rank, of all that comes under the head of the sacerdotium ;" but those who recognise the prominence of St. Peter say that, without being above the rest in all that was essential to the apostolate, he was "the greater" of whom our Lord spoke ; and St. Cyprian supports this view : "For the inculcation of Unity He disposed by His authority that the beginning of that Unity should have its rise in one."

"The other Apostles were what Peter was, endowed with a like share of honour and power, but the beginning was made from one, that the Church might be shown to be one. . . ."

And so, again, St. Chrysostom describes St. Peter as the Chief of the Apostles, or again as the Mouthpiece of the Apostles.

The case is not parallel, because St. James was another Apostle, and a modern Bishop is not one of the original band ; nor again is the ultimate decision in this latter case addressed to the whole Church ; but the situation is not without its lessons. It is understood, of course, that Bishops and Archbishops alike are equals ; and yet, to show how instinctively human nature moves when it is feeling its way to Unity, it is suggested that the beginning should be made from one ; and if this instinct is so essential a part of human nature that you must quit life altogether if you would be rid of it and of the evidence that lies about us everywhere in support of it, is it not natural to expect that He who took our essential

human nature upon Him should so far speak out of that human nature and according to its normal principles? If in attempting to recover Unity we cannot move without displaying this principle, is it a strange thing that our Lord should have not only recognised it but made some provision for its exercise? However this may be, I think it is true to say that St. Peter is the visible centre of the Council at Jerusalem, and that this is only one out of many other instances in the New Testament which point to his Primacy.

It may be well here to set down two expositions of this situation from post-Reformation divines.

Thorndike, an Anglican dignitary of his day, and a name famous among the Tractarians, writes thus: "The decree of the Council as it is resolved upon St. Peter's reason, so is it framed and drawn up in St. James's terms; the one as the first of the Apostles, the other as having the charge of the Church there." And an eminent Anglican divine of our time, belonging to the moderate school, writes: "There is nothing in St. Luke's words (in the Acts) which bears out what is often said that St. James presided over the Conference at Jerusalem. . . . In the decisive speeches at the end the lead is taken by St. Peter, the foremost of the twelve. . . . The words which begin his (St. James's) conclusion cannot reasonably be understood as an authoritative judgment pronounced by himself independently. The whole context of what is said in verse 22 about the actual decision makes that interpretation morally impossible. . . . The sense is doubtless, 'I for my part judge. This is my vote,' as we should say. . . ." (Hort.)

The entire passage (Acts xv. to verse 20) should be read, of course, first, and the several portions examined afterwards.

And now to pass on:—

- (6) It is St. Peter who pronounces sentence on Simon Magus.
- (7) It is St. Peter who pronounces the solemn sentence of death upon Ananias and Sapphira.

- (8) It is St. Peter who is distinguished from the rest and selected when the special revelation is to be made relating to the Gentiles.

This was the great epoch in the history of the new Church, and one of the most momentous events in all history when it was made known to St. Peter first and through him to others afterwards that all nations, and not the Jews only, were to have their part and place in one Church. In this instance St. Peter acts without conferring with the Apostles, and afterwards declares to the Apostles themselves the grounds upon which he had acted.

Thus, it will be observed, the same Apostle who takes the lead in the Church while it is confined to the Circumcision is specially informed by revelation when it is to be extended to the Uncircumcision.

- (9) St. Peter in prison. The prayers of the whole Church are offered night and day for him, and he is miraculously released. It is evidently regarded as something that touches the Church at its very heart and centre.
- (10) The multitude bring their sick into the streets, so that at least the shadow of Peter passing by may overshadow some of them.

IV.

Here, then, is what lies on the face of the Gospels and the Acts ; and it may, I think, be stated in the words of Canon Oakeley addressed to a mixed congregation of Catholics and Protestants :—

“ One Apostle marked off from the rest is found to act a leading part in the counsels of the Apostolic Church, which it is impossible to explain upon any theory but that of his pre-eminence in the Apostolic College ;

“ The same Apostle determines important questions, his judgment being accepted by his brethren as final.

“No great Apostolical work is undertaken without him, while some are entrusted to his single ‘administration.’

“The power of life and death, the special prerogative of sovereign authority, is exercised by him alone. His presence is regarded as peculiarly important to the Church ; indeed, as the hinge upon which its fortunes turn.”

So far, then, we have been led to call attention to the prominence of St. Peter’s name, and the prominent part that St. Peter himself is found to play in the life of the New Testament. This is the point before us at present.

In the Gospels we witness the gradual formation of the mystical body of Christ ; and in the case of this body, as with others, there is a certain proportion in its make.

Our Saviour stands before us, alone in the first instance, and forms in His own person the nucleus around which the materials are seen to group themselves afterwards. As the Society comes out to view the person of St. Peter at once begins to show in front ; and the question I now have to ask is whether any similar phenomenon, that is, whether any similar prominence presents itself in the Church of the Fathers and in the ages which follow.

SECTION IV.—*The First See.*

It will be found, then, I think, when we pass from Scripture to the Fathers, that the same phenomenon meets us ; the Christian Society is before us again, and one leader shows at once in front, one See at once comes out to view ; and this leader claims to be the successor of Him who led before, and this See to be the Apostolic See.

For the purpose of the outline that I now desire to indicate it may be convenient to distribute the periods of time thus :

(1)	A.D.	100	.	.	300
(2)	„	300	.	.	600
(3)	„	600	.	.	1500
(4)	„	1500	.	.	1900

I.

Now, in regard to these four periods it is understood, of course, that in the first three centuries, which were centuries of persecution, the life of the Church was hidden away from view ; and that the records of that life, in every aspect of it, are few as well as fragmentary. Such is the general character of the first period, and in alluding to its earlier portion, that is, the history of the Church before the year 170, Professor Ramsay goes so far as to say that the only point universally agreed upon is its obscurity. We must, then, so far be content with that which we have ; and in this part of my chapter, that is in the first and second of the periods I have laid down, I shall follow mainly in the steps of Mr. Everest.

1. First Period, A.D. 100-300.

- (1) In the year A.D. 96, St. Clement of Rome addresses a letter to the Church of Corinth, that is, at about the same point of time as the fourth Gospel is generally understood to have been written. The aim of this letter is to heal those unhappy divisions of which we see the first symptoms in St. Paul's Epistle to the same Church ; and St. Irenæus (A.D. 198), Bishop of Lyons, afterwards alluded to this letter thus : " The Church which is at Rome wrote a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, gathering them together to peace and repairing their faith, and announcing the tradition which it had so recently received from the Apostles."
- (2) In A.D. 150, when nearly ninety years of age, St. Polycarp, formerly a disciple of St. John, journeyed all the way from Smyrna to Rome, of which Anicetus was at that time the Bishop. St. Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna, and one object of his visit, Eusebius tells us, was to discuss the proper time for keeping Easter. The visit "stands out as a most impressive fact, eloquent of the position to which the Roman Church had even then attained," for "the journey, or rather

voyage, from Smyrna in Asia Minor, right across the Mediterranean to Italy, was a long one, and in those days perhaps not unattended with some amount of danger."

- (3) Victor became Bishop of Rome about the year A.D. 190, and the vexed question of Easter was still before the Church; finding himself confronted by this problem, that is, the divergence of custom between the Churches of Asia Minor and those of other countries, he "used his influence"—to employ the language of Robertson—for the establishment of uniformity throughout the whole Church. The same historian goes on to say that "Councils were held, apparently by his desire, in countries widely distant from each other—in Palestine, Pontus, Osrhoëne, Greece, and Gaul; all these gave evidence that the custom of their own Churches agreed with that of the Roman, and were favourable to the wishes of Victor. The Asiatics, however, in their council, refused to depart from their traditional rule." Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, wrote to Victor in his own name and in the name of his brethren, assuring him that the Apostles St. Philip and St. John, together with other venerable personages who had belonged to the Church in Asia, had given their sanction to the quarto-deciman usage, and that he intended to abide by it, inasmuch as the custom was Apostolical in its origin and nowhere condemned in Scripture. To this Victor returned an imperious answer, in which he excommunicated, or threatened to excommunicate, the Asiatics. No one, whether friend or foe, appears to have justified his tone and temper; and Irenæus (A.D. 202), the Bishop of Lyons, made some attempt to mediate, and, in his letter to Victor, pointed to the example of his predecessor, Anicetus, and urged that such a question should not "be made the ground for a breach of Communion," inasmuch as a diversity of

customs had hitherto been allowed, and the fact of the Church recognising variations in matters of this kind, would tend to increase the respect of her children for other more fundamental points on which agreement was unanimous. Peace was thus restored, and the Asiatics "were allowed"—I use Robertson's language again—were allowed to retain their custom until the Council of Nicæa.

Eusebius, in referring to the letter of mediation written by Irenæus to Victor, says: "Irenæus becomingly (*προσηχόντως*) admonishes Victor not to cut off whole Churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom;" and he goes on to explain that this cutting off of Churches signified the separation of them from the Common Unity (*τῆς κοινῆς ἐνώσεως*)—the Unity of the Catholic Church.

Now, up to this point of time—we have the testimony of Irenæus for it—"in the Church of Rome the tradition from the Apostles had always been preserved by men from all parts."

Let us place ourselves, then, in imagination, at that point of time (about A.D. 203) and picture the state of the case.

St. John has been dead about a hundred years, and a bishop of Rome requests that councils shall be held in various and widely different parts of the world, to consider the question that was then before the Church. The Councils are accordingly held and "evidence" is given. The Asiatics are excommunicated or threatened with excommunication for not conforming to the Roman custom; and Irenæus becomingly admonishes Victor.

Is there any evidence that Victor's right to take some steps was disputed and disallowed? Or is it only that the particular steps he proposed to take were ill-advised?

If all records of resistance to alleged authority signify that that authority has no existence, how is it that, after the continuous disputes of the past sixty years in England, there are

any Archbishops or Bishops left in this country at all? Disputes have come up and threatened the peace of the Church, and Archbishops and Bishops as leaders of the Church in this country have taken action in each case; and in a great number of instances they have been resisted; but not on the plea that they had no right to act at all, but that they had no right to act in the way they did. And so with Victor, the answer to whom would surely have been, "What have you to do with all the world? Stay at home and mind Rome." That is the preliminary question whenever any one steps out from his province. But in this case they argue with him on the merits of the question not upon his right to take action upon it; and a distinguished Bishop, whose name has been handed down in history, offers Victor advice, but in a becoming manner, and asks him to realise the awful consequences of the step he is proposing to take.

Here, then, surely we have the several personages of the Church before us, and one person shows in front; surely here we have the dioceses of the Church before us, and one diocese comes to the front. One diocese there is, in A.D. 200, which is prominent; and one Bishop whose right to take the initiative in relation to the entire Church is, so far, not disallowed.

This appears to be the fact, however it is to be accounted for; and this latter point has not yet come up for consideration.

- (4) Tertullian (A.D. 200), turning to the Roman Church, exclaims: "O Church, happy in its position into which the Apostles poured out their whole doctrine;" and a few years after Pope Victor had been directing his attention to the whole Church, Tertullian turned in a moment of anger to his successor, Pope Zephyrinus, and addressed him in the language of irony: "Pontifex Maximus, Bishop of Bishops, the Apostolic Papa;" that is, he reproached him, seeing that he held so

exalted a position, with relaxing the strictness of the penance discipline.

Tertullian was well acquainted with Rome and with the Roman Church ; and its position in relation to the entire Church was, in his eyes, unique, and its Bishop supreme.

(5) We come now to St. Stephen and St. Cyprian. "As the name of Origen is famous in the history of doctrine, that of his contemporary Cyprian is no less so in connection with the government and discipline of the Church." Stephen, Bishop of Rome, 253, seems to have fallen into the same mistake as Victor had done forty years earlier, and to have become embroiled with some of the Asiatic Bishops, upon the question, this time, of the rebaptism of heretics ; and Cyprian was drawn into the dispute. Here, then, we have the Bishop of Rome and the Bishop of Carthage in conflict.

St. Cyprian argued strongly for the rebaptism of all converts from heresy and schism. There could be no forgiveness, he said, unless within the Church ; and "the water could not be sanctified into cleansing by one who was himself unclean." Moreover, the principle of rebaptism had been affirmed by three Carthaginian Councils, the last of which was held in September, 256. After the second of these Councils envoys were sent to Stephen, but so far from entertaining them, he charged his flock not to show them hospitality ; denounced Cyprian in language which Robertson characterises as outrageous ; and broke off communion with the Africans as he had already done with the Asiatics. Stephen appears to have died immediately afterwards (A.D. 257) ; and the question was, in any case, ultimately settled in his sense.

In this case, Dionysius of Alexandria seems to have acted a part somewhat similar to that of Irenæus at an earlier date, except that he was in agreement with the Roman view, and Irenæus, in his case, was against it.

But here, again, we have before us a Church "into which

the Apostles had poured all their doctrine" coming to the front, and the Bishop of that Church, express it as dispassionately as you may, considering himself justified in holding out against the Asiatic and African Churches and severing them from communion with him and his.

Surely we have here the prominence of a person and the prominence also of his See; and as in the other instance so also in this there is no repudiation of Stephen's claim to this prominence. Cyprian "did not dispute pre-eminence in point of rank with the Bishop of Rome."

2. Second Period, A.D. 300-600.

- (1) In the quarrel that arose between Athanasius, the famous Bishop of Alexandria, and his Arian and Semi-Arian opponents (A.D. 340), the questions between them are constantly referred to Rome by both parties. In the event two of the Archbishop's bitterest enemies, Arians and Valens, having been condemned by the Council of Sardica, withdrew their charges, and wrote letters to the Pope and also to the Archbishop. The letters were, both of them, letters of apology; but the letter to the Pope is addressed as to a superior, and that to St. Athanasius as to an equal.¹ Here again, then, among the personages of the Church in 340, one person there is who shows in front and is so far superior to the rest.
- (2) At the Council of Nicæa 325, two legates were present to represent Pope Sylvester. And the Council of Sardica (349), convened by Julius, recognised by canon the Pope's power of sending legates into foreign provinces to hear appeals, "ut de latere suo Presbyterum mittat."²
- (3) St. Leo the Great was Pope in A.D. 461, and he speaks thus: "Do not think it any invasion of your rights if you see me in this way taking precautionary measures against unlawful presumption. Our care extends over

¹ *Historical Tracts of St. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria*, p. 86.

² *Ibid.*, p. 39, a.

the whole Church. . . .” This is interesting both for what it expressly says and for what it implies. In this actual world no human governor is perfect, for the mere reason that he is human ; and in the long history of the Church and the vast area over which it extends, and the almost infinite variety of tempers it comprises, few exhibitions of government will be without some taint of imperfection alike in those who rule and in those who obey. Quite recently in England (*i.e.* 1901) Pastoral letters have been addressed to their several flocks alike by the Anglican and Roman Bishops, and in both instances the duty of obedience has been strenuously urged on the one side, and particular manifestations of authority have been strongly resented on the other. However, the point before us is the prominence of a person, and it is certain, in regard to personages in the Church about the year 470, that there was one who obviously showed in front, and that one was Leo.

- (4) Gregory the Great, who sent Augustine to England (597), has therefore a special interest for ourselves, and a special interest, too, in regard to the point now before us.

Unlike the characters of Victor and Stephen, that of Gregory is conspicuous for its modesty. In a letter addressed by him to one Eulogius, he complains : “ In the preface of your letter you apply to me, who prohibited it, the proud title of Universal Pope, which thing I beg your most sweet Holiness to do no more ; because what is given to others, beyond what reason requires, is subtracted from you. I do not esteem that an honour by which I know my brethren lose their honour. My honour is that of the Universal Church. I am then truly honoured when all and each one are allowed the honour due unto them. For if your Holiness call me Universal Pope, you deny yourself to be that which you call me universally. No more of this ; away with words which inflate pride and wound

charity." And Gregory's vehement denunciation of John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, for daring to assume the title of Universal Bishop, is, of course, well known.

And yet this same Gregory, speaking of the See of Constantinople and of all other dioceses whatsoever, exclaims: "Who doubts that it (Constantinople) is subject to the Apostolic See? I know not what Bishop is not subject to it if fault be found in him."

And, again, "Wherefore, though there were many Apostles, yet the See of the Prince of the Apostles alone has acquired a principality of authority."

John the Faster assumed the title of Universal Bishop in the interest of imperialism and, as Mr. Everest says, "on purely human grounds." Gregory's proper dignity rested on wholly different grounds, the consideration of which belongs to another part of this chapter.

Meantime, in the year 597, and as regards the entire Church, one person there evidently is who shows in front of all other persons, and one See that claims pre-eminence over other Sees. That See is known as The Apostolic See or The Holy See, and that person as Gregory the Great.

3. Third Period, A.D. 600-1500.

In regard to the third period, long and eventful as it is, I shall content myself with a few general statements and a few special instances. The prominence of the Holy See during the Middle Ages is too obvious to call for much comment in this chapter. In days like the present, however, when it is the fashion to speak lightly of the Church as though she had ever been the enemy and not the mother of progress, and when the freedom of the Church is spoken of as though it signified freedom from the Holy See and not freedom from the domination of the State, it may be well to recall to our minds the great debt which the entire civilised world owes to the Church during the long and eventful period we are now contemplating.

The famous passage from Milman so often quoted in this

connection may once more be set down here in illustration of what I am saying. In allusion to the times of Gregory I., the writer says : "The Papacy was the only power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was most imperatively required to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilisation. To Western Christianity was absolutely necessary a centre, standing alone, strong in traditional reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organisation of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict : it might have degenerated into a half-secular feudal caste, with hereditary benefices more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. On the rise of a power both controlling and conservative hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and to a certain extent uniform system. There must be a counter balance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal, or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. All Europe would have been what England was under the Octarchy, what Germany was when her emperors were weak ; and even her emperors she owed to Rome, to the Church, to Christianity. Providence might have otherwise ordained ; but it is impossible for man to imagine by what other organising or consolidating force the commonwealth of the Western nations could have grown up to a discordant, indeed, and conflicting league, but still a league, with that unity and conformity of manners, usages, laws, religion, which made their rivalries, oppugnancies, and even their long ceaseless wars on the whole to issue in the noblest, highest, most intellectual form of civilisation known to man. . . . It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the

lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages without the mediæval Papacy ; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great. . . . It is a Christian dominion of which he lays the foundations in the Eternal City. . . .”

This famous passage may serve as a general statement testifying to that prominence of one Bishop and one see to which I have been calling attention as to a continuous fact from the first.

And from a vast number of particular statements one may be selected from the writings of Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, whose memory is revered by the English people. He speaks in one place of “lightening the burthen of our Lord the Pope, to whom belongs, under Heaven, the supreme care of all Churches and of all souls. . . .”

I will quote only one other special instance ; and that appears in the famous letter of St. Bernard to Pope Eugenius III. :—“Who art thou ? The High Priest, the Supreme Bishop. . . . Thou art he to whom the Keys of Heaven are given, to whom the sheep are entrusted. There are indeed other doorkeepers and other shepherds of the flocks ; but thou art more glorious in proportion as thou hast also in a different fashion inherited before others both these names. The former have their flocks assigned to them, each one his own. To thee all are entrusted, one flock for the one. Not merely for the sheep, but for all the shepherds also thou art the one shepherd. . . . Canst thou not, when a just reason occurs, shut up Heaven against a Bishop, depose him from the Episcopal office, and deliver him over to Satan ? Thus thy privilege is immutable as well in the keys committed as in the sheep entrusted to thy care.”¹

The False Decretals appeared in the year 850 ; that is 400 years after the words quoted from Leo (p. 90), and 250 years after St. Gregory’s statement (p. 92).

4. Fourth Period, A.D. 1500–1900.

Although this covers a period of four hundred years, it is

¹ *De Consid.*, lib. iii., c. 8, quoted by Father H. J. D. Ryder.

scarcely necessary to say many words, as the Apostolic See is conspicuous again throughout ; and this in spite of the great upheaval of the Sixteenth Century.

And if my silence in this case argues not the absence but the superabundance of evidence, may not this possibly apply also to the evidence of the earliest days ?

Meantime, to select one instance, it is known that the Society of Jesus, members of which were at that time to be found in France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV. (1773), in consequence of overwhelming pressure on the part of the Ambassadors.

And so in our own times Pius IX. and Leo XIII. have severally occupied the position of the prominent person in the Church of their day.

SECTION V.—*The Petrine Texts.*

So far I have been calling attention to a phenomenon which appears on the face of the New Testament and subsequently also on the face of Church history ; and the reality of that phenomenon will, I think, be acknowledged by all. It is a fact that our Lord by His own visible Presence was the prominent Person throughout the Gospels and that St. Peter, meantime, was growing into prominence at His side ; it is a fact, too, that after our Lord's ascension St. Peter's position appears at once unique and conspicuous in the chapters composing the first half of the Acts ; and it is also a fact that in the subsequent ages of Church history continuously up to the present moment, one person in the visible Church has shown in front of all others, and one See has been conspicuous above all the rest.

This may be described, so far, as a natural fact claiming to take its place among other facts ; and in it we may recognise an exhibition and illustration within the compass of Ecclesiastical history of a principle which is characteristic of universal human life.

As I shall go on to say in another chapter, power belongs to God, and is variously distributed to man ; and this unequal distribution of power is found to be an abiding fact in our midst, defying all attempts to reverse it. We are accustomed to say that if all the wealth in the world were to be redistributed equally to-day some would be found to possess more of it than others to-morrow ; and the reason is that although we could make the gifts equal we could not make those equal to whom we gave them.

And in any work that we are undertaking the alternative before us is plain ; either we must give up the use of human materials or we must frankly recognise their inequality. Now, in the case before us, the same God who made the materials is also making use of them ; and the persons of the disciples with their various characteristic gifts, and the inequality which was the outcome of that variation, constituted the materials placed in our Lord's hands.

The words of His prayer are plain, "Keep through Thine own name those whom Thou hast given Me." Although it is true, then, to say that our Lord called upon all mankind to follow Him, it is also true that only special persons, and not any chance persons who might happen to pass that way, were singled out from the multitude and set apart for this work. Not because they were human beings merely, but because they were human beings with their own special gifts ; for this reason it was that they were separated and set apart for the work.

This principle is recognized in other aspects of our Saviour's work ; and we are accustomed to say of the inspired writers that they were selected because of what they respectively were, to do what they respectively did. St. John could not have written St. Mark's Gospel nor St. Mark the Gospel of St. John. And so with the Apostolic work as a whole ; the inequality as between St. Peter and the other disciples belonged first to the universal divine intention, and afterwards to the particular divine plan. And, I repeat, it is scarcely too much to say that if the Visible Society had been

destined to endure without a visible head some miraculous interposition on the part of our Saviour would have been found necessary at the outset. Let the case be carefully considered. If we are to be guided by the analogy of all human life, in launching the ship of the Visible Church upon the waters of this world our Lord would foresee that unless He set some one to stand at the helm at first with His sanction, some one would be found to take his stand there afterwards without it. Into this shape human nature will ever be found to throw itself when it comes out into action; and the presumption, therefore, is that our Lord would recognise the fact and give it the security of His own special stamp and seal.

In any case, the fact is before us; in the actual world of to-day the word "Rome" or "The Holy See" is odious to some and a symbol of hope to others; so also is the name of Peter in the Acts, the poor people even seeking the shelter of his shadow, on the one hand, and Herod placing him in prison because he saw that it pleased the Jews, on the other; and so once more is it with the name of our Lord in the Gospels; in the eyes of some He is truly the Son of God, while according to others He casts out devils by the prince of the devils. Explain the phenomenon how you will, it is a commanding fact from first to last.

One person there is from the very outset who is an object of special aversion to some and of peculiar devotion to others, and one who is, therefore, in one way or another, a prominent object before the eyes of all.

I.

I come now to the consideration of the famous texts and of the particular setting in which they find themselves. There are five principal moments in the history of our Lord's relations with St. Peter; and they appear as follows:—

(1) The First Moment. "And when Jesus beheld him He

said, Thou art Simon the son of Jona : thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A Stone."

(2) The Second Moment. "To Simon He gave the name of Peter."

(3) The Third Moment. "But whom say ye that I am ? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.

"And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in Heaven.

"And I say also unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.

"And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

(4) The Fourth Moment. "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat : but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not : and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

(5) The Fifth Moment. "So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these ? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord ; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He said unto him, Feed My lambs.

"He saith unto him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me ? He saith unto Him, Yea, Lord ; Thou knowest that I love Thee. He saith unto him, Feed My sheep.

"He saith unto him the third time, Simon son of Jonas, lovest thou Me ? Peter was grieved because He said unto him the third time, Lovest thou Me ? And he said unto him, Lord, Thou knowest all things ;

Thou knowest that I love Thee. Jesus saith unto him,
Feed My sheep."

Let us now look more closely at each one of these passages.

II.*

1. "Thou art Simon the Son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A Stone."

(1) Our Lord has announced the purpose of His Ministerial life, "The Kingdom of Heaven is at hand;" and now the process of setting up this kingdom is to commence; and the first move is to be made.

The Apostle comes before our Lord, and He at once promises and foretells for him a new name. Hitherto as an individual person he has been distinguished from others by the name of Simon; now as an individual disciple he will be more particularly distinguished from the rest by the name Peter.

Thus two principal distinctions appear to have marked the institution of our Lord's visible kingdom: He distinguished the disciples as a whole from the rest of mankind, and He distinguished St. Peter in particular from the rest of the disciples.

Addressing the disciples as a whole He said: "Unto you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but unto others in parables;" and addressing St. Peter in particular: "Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, A Stone."

Bossuet in his day and Döllinger in our own agree in recognising these two successive distinctions.

(2) Here, then, it is the more particular distinction that we have to consider. And first it is to be remembered that

* See Allies' *St. Peter, His Name, His Office, and His See*; also Döllinger's *First Age of the Church*.

names, as we see them given in the Bible, are significant. Thus in the Old Testament we have the names of Abraham, Sarah, Jacob, and Joshua; and in each case the name is intended to signify the special line of work that has been marked out by God for the one who is to bear it. "Thy name shall be called Abraham, for a father of many nations have I made thee."

And a parallel has been suggested between the call of Abraham and the call of Peter :

- | | |
|---|---|
| (1) Thy name shall be Abraham. | (1) Thou shalt be called Cephas. |
| (2) For a father of many nations
have I made thee. | (2) And upon this rock I will
build My Church. |

According to this view of the case the Church of the Old Testament was set up in the person of Abraham and the Church of the New Testament in the person of Peter.

The Church under the old Covenant comprises the children of Abraham only; but under the new Covenant the Kingdom of Heaven is to be opened to all believers.

- (3) Now, this first step must be looked at in relation to our Lord Himself on the one hand and to the Church that He is beginning to build on the other; He transferred to St. Peter a description which had been already assigned, in prophecy, to Himself. Thus Isaiah: "Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation." And in allusion to this St. Paul writes: "Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief Corner Stone."

The language of the Old Testament and the language of the New, the language of prophecy and the language of fulfilment, thus combine to distinguish the Son of Man as the Stone.

Now, in the passage before us (St. John i. 42) we have the

name that is given to the disciple, and we have the interpretation of that name ; both of them alike coming from the lips of our Saviour Himself.

The name is *Κηφᾶς* ; and the interpretation is *Πέτρος* ; and in regard to the meaning of this word, Dr. Lightfoot declares that “Cephas” means both stone and rock,—a fragment or a mass.

(4) Thus, as regards the first moment in our Lord’s relations with St. Peter, the latter comes out into prominence, and is distinguished from the rest of the disciples, in consequence of our Lord’s act and not because of any act of his own ; he is distinguished from the others by the promise of a new name ; and the value of that distinction appears in the parallel which it suggests to other distinctions in the Old Testament ; to the association it establishes between the name of the disciple and the name of his Lord ; and to the relation which it foretells between St. Peter himself and the rest of the Apostolic band.

III.

2. “To Simon He gave the name of Peter.”

Coming to the second year of our Lord’s ministry we come also upon the formal fulfilment of His promise.

At this point of time, He distinguished the twelve Apostles from the general crowd of followers who centred around Him, and gave them authority to teach, and power to heal sickness and to cast out devils ; and in this connexion, St. Mark says : “To Simon He gave the name of Peter ;” and St. Matthew, “The names of the twelve Apostles are these : the first, Simon, who is called Peter ;” and St. Luke, “Simon, whom He also named Peter.”

IV.

3. “But whom say ye that I am ? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God.

“And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona : for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but My Father which is in Heaven.

“And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.

“And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven.”

Now here the prominence of St. Peter comes out to view again ; he shows in front of the rest.

- (1) Our Lord addresses the whole band, “Whom say ye that I am ?” And it is one of the band that answers : “Simon Peter answered and said. . . .”

And the explanation of this prominence immediately follows : ‘My Father which is in Heaven hath revealed this unto thee, not flesh and blood.’

That is, it was the Eternal Father in Heaven who distinguished St. Peter and not St. Peter who distinguished himself : and for this reason our Lord said he was to be considered as “blessed.” Thus, as all generations would subsequently call the Virgin Mary “blessed” because the Eternal Father had distinguished her from others and chosen her to be the mother of the Highest, so St. Peter was at once described as “blessed” because the Eternal Father had distinguished him from others and vouchsafed to him this special revelation of His Son.

- (2) Again, it will be observed that the two answers are set over against each other :

Simon Peter answered and said : “Thou art the Christ.”

And Jesus answered and said :
“Blessed art thou. . . .”

‘Thou hast said unto Me that I am the Christ, and I say unto thee that thou art Peter.’

- (3) Now a portion of this promise was made to St. Peter as an individual, and a portion was afterwards made to St. Peter and the other Apostles together. In order to bring this out I will follow Mr. Allies in setting these two in parallel columns :—

TO PETER.

TO THE APOSTLES.

- (1) "I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church."
 (2) "And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."
 (3) "And I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."
 (4) "And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

"Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

Thus if we glance from the one column to the other we shall see that the Apostles have nothing to show of a parallel nature until we come to the last of the four things that were promised to St. Peter. Only in the fourth and last case do we find a promise that was made first to Peter alone and afterwards to Peter and the other Apostles together.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, etc." ? No.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle, "The gates of Hell shall not prevail . . ." ? No.

Did our Lord say to any other Apostle, "I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven" ? No.

Then our Lord made some promises to Peter which He made to no one else ; and St. Peter is prominent amongst the Apostles because he received more promises.

(4) We now have to ask what is the meaning of these promises ; and first :—

“Thou art Peter (Petros),
And upon this rock (Petra)
I will build My Church.”

I must put myself in this case under the guidance of scholars. Bishop Lightfoot tells us the Oriental word “Cephas,” when turned into Greek, takes a masculine termination—Petros, when it is made a man’s name, and that it would have been Petra if it had been applied to a woman. And Robert Wilberforce quotes a note from Grotius on this passage :—“The name of a man could not, according to the Greek usage, be expressed by the feminine *petra*, while the masculine *petros* did not commonly signify that which Christ wished to express, *i.e.* such a stone as is commonly laid for a foundation.” Wilberforce then goes on : “Whereas in Syriac, as appears at present from the Peschito version, the term in each member of the sentence is identical. Had St. Augustine, for instance, known that our Lord’s words were ‘Thou art Cepho, and on this Cepho I will build My Church,’ he would not have employed the argument he does in his *Retractations*.”

Döllinger alludes to the passage thus : “The Greek translator of the Aramaic text was obliged to use *petros* and *petra* : in the original Cephas stood in each place without change of gender, ‘Thou art stone, and on this stone, etc.,’ Cephas being both name and title.”

(5) Now when we come to the question of interpretation it is interesting to observe how variously one and the same passage may be understood by various minds. Dr. Hort and Dr. Lightfoot were both recognised as writers of great candour and learning ; and each after standing opposite to this passage gives his own verdict upon it.

Dr. Hort says : “I believe the most obvious interpretation of this phrase is the true one, St. Peter

himself yet not exclusively St. Peter, but the other disciples of whom he is the spokesman and interpreter, and should hereafter be the leader, was the rock which Christ had here in view."

Dr. Lightfoot: "It seems to me more strictly explained not of Peter himself, for then we shall expect ἐπὶ σοι, rather than ἐπὶ ταυτῇ τῇ πέτρᾳ—but 'on this constancy, this firmness of thine, to which thy name bears witness, and which has just evinced itself in thy confession.'"

Dr. Lightfoot also differs from the former commentator on another point: "The words are directed," he says, "with all the force which repetition can give them to the person addressed. . . . It is said of Peter here; but it might be said, and is said, elsewhere of the other Apostles."

And Döllinger teaches thus: "Our Lord wills to build His house, the imperishable Church, never to be overcome by the powers of death on the believing and confessing Simon, who again is to be its foundation in the same sense as all the Apostles are according to Paul and John, though excelling all others in his speciality as chief foundation stone."

(6) It is important here to beware of false divisions, and not to assume that because one modern theologian adopts the interpretation of Peter's faith rather than of Peter's person, and another the interpretation of Peter's person rather than of Peter's faith, the two are mutually exclusive, and that we must therefore choose between them. They are not, in fact, antagonistic unless we make them so; but one may represent the primary and the other the secondary interpretation. And this is how they are understood by some modern as well as ancient interpreters of the passage. Such an attitude may be regarded as representing a strong Catholic principle.

Christ is the Priest, and yet we have ministerial priests on

earth ; Christ, again, is the Prophet or Teacher of mankind, and yet we have earthly teachers ; and so the fact that Christ is the King must not be allowed to exclude the notion also of earthly kings.

In each of these instances He stands alone, and the primary sense attaches to Him and to none other. But after the primary sense comes the sense that is secondary ; and because Christ is the chief corner stone it does not therefore follow that Peter cannot be the chief foundation stone. So far as this view is true the question becomes one of adjustments and not of alternatives ; of careful distinction between two degrees of interpretation and not of necessarily shutting out either.

Let us state it in the form of a question, and then the danger of a false division will appear at once. Is Christ Himself the foundation of the Church or is the Church built upon the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets ? The answer here is, Upon both ; upon Christ in the primary sense and upon the Apostles in a secondary sense.

And so again to propose the question whether the Church was built upon all the Apostles or upon the Apostle Peter—may suggest a false division ; since, *ex hypothesi*, the Apostles are, every one of them, foundation stones, and of these foundation stones Peter is the chief.

The Apostles generally are not to be considered as another foundation nor is St. Peter to be so considered in particular.

On the whole, then, and from this point of view our Saviour is the true and ultimate foundation, in that primary sense which St. Paul has in his mind when he says : “ Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ ; ” and the Apostles supply the foundation in that secondary sense which St. Paul has in his mind when he says : “ Built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets . . . ”

And so, again, St. Peter is to be recognised as a stone in a sense which distinguishes him from our Lord Himself on the one side and from the rest of the Apostles on the other.

This is the sense in which Father Ryder, for instance, in our own day and many of the Fathers in early times interpret the passage :—"It must be clearly understood," says the former, "that we in no wise reject the application of the 'Rock' to Christ or to faith in Christ. We maintain that such interpretation does not at all militate against its application directly to St. Peter ; not indeed to his person but to his office. . . ." And so, again, if we turn back to the Fathers we find Origen saying, "See what is said by the Lord to that great foundation of the Church and most solid rock upon which Christ founded His Church." (*In Exod.*, Hom. v. n. 4.) And St. Cyprian : "For neither did Peter whom the Lord chose as first upon whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him about circumcision claim or assume anything insolently or arrogantly to himself ; so as to say that he held the Primacy and should rather be obeyed of those late and newly come." (Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxi. 2.) And again : "There is one God and one Christ, and one Church, and one chair founded by the word of the Lord upon the Rock. Another altar cannot be set up. . . ." (*Ep.* xliii. 4.)

And St. Augustine speaks of Peter "holding the chief place in the Apostleship." (*Serm.* Matt. xvi. 22.) St. Jerome : "What is meant by the words, And I say unto thee ? Because thou hast said unto Me, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God ; and I say unto thee, not in idle or inoperative words, but I say unto thee, because My saying makes it an act, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church. As He Himself who is the light, gave to His Apostles to be called the light of the world, and as they received their other names from the Lord ; so to Simon who believed in the Rock, Christ gave the name of Peter, and, by a metaphor drawn from a rock, it is appropriately said to him, I will build My Church upon thee."

And Pope Leo has a famous passage in one of his sermons : "While I am the inviolable Rock, the Corner Stone, who make both one, the foundation beside which no one can lay another ;

yet thou also art the rock, because by My virtue thou art established so as to enjoy by participation the properties which are peculiar to Me." (*Serm.* iv. 2.)

The Fourth General Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451): "St. Peter is the Rock and foundation of the Catholic Church and the foundation of the Orthodox faith." (Act 3.)

(7) "And the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

It is only necessary here to say that this promise is immediately related to what has preceded it. The gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church that is so built, viz. "upon this rock."

However we may be led to interpret our Lord's first words to St. Peter, it is plain that this Apostle was in a special sense and in a most impressive manner associated with the foundation of the Church, and that the promise of protection against the gates of Hell must be referred to this context and not separated from it.

(8) "I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."

There is no doubt as to who the person is in this passage. Our Lord has keys in His own hands and He puts them into the hands of Peter; and these keys are the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Now, the "Kingdom of Heaven" is a phrase which is used in various senses; sometimes it is represented as being within us, sometimes as without us; the idea of the Kingdom in the entire sense of the word being so vast that it is not easy to exhaust its several aspects; but in this place the context is suggestive.

St. Peter is one person, and there is no record of these words having been said to any other person in the New Testament; and the tense is future, implying that what our Lord was now saying was something that would afterwards be fulfilled. So far this further illustrates what I have said about the place and importance of plan in the context of our Lord's ministerial life.

In all His famous utterances He has His eye not merely upon the individual Apostles that stand before Him, but also upon others who shall subsequently stand in their place ; His eye rests not only upon the present, but also and mainly upon the future. Thus He said, "Go ye into all the world," although every member of the little band would ere long have to yield up his place to another, and quit the scene of his labours. It was as though He were carefully sketching out the plan in the presence of His Apostles in the first instance, so that they might recognise the form and outline of the visible Kingdom in the shape of an idea before going on to carry it into execution. If I may reverently suggest a paraphrase it would run thus :—"I have said, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and I am now going on to provide the principles of this Kingdom ; some of these will have to do primarily with conduct and some with order and government. And, first, I have some special words to say to you, Simon Peter ; I have set a special mark upon you from the first, and I am now going on to explain it. You have been accustomed to think of Me as the Stone or the Rock, and that, of course, is an abiding fact ; but when you have understood that, I wish to assign a special place and function to you, and so to associate you in a particular sense with Myself in this work. Your name will remind you of your office ; next after Me, but not apart from Me, you are to be the chief foundation stone. And then, again, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven I am going to leave in your hands. You will have understood here, again, that these keys belong to Myself and that you are responsible to Me for your use of them. I shall soon be leaving you, and it is expedient for you that I should go away, but everything must be rightly set in order first, and care must be taken that only those are admitted and allowed to remain within My Kingdom who are seeking to fulfil its duties ; so I leave the keys in your hand, the keys of this Kingdom to handle and to use on earth." Döllinger's interpretation already alluded to is as follows : "The power of the

Keys differs from the power of 'binding and loosing,' and extends over the whole Church, and passes to St. Peter's successors." The Kingdom of Heaven is a wide term indeed, but can it signify less, on the side on which it is visible to us here on earth, than the entire ecclesiastical situation that our Lord left behind Him at His Ascension?

Our Lord Himself used the keys so long as He was visible here on earth, and He would hand them to Peter to use so long as he should remain here afterwards. This, I think, is the natural interpretation; and I agree with Mr. Everest in thinking that post-Reformation writers betray some tendency to narrow it down and to explain it away. The unconscious bias of what has now been a prolonged anti-Roman tradition is at work and dominates the mind; and this illustrates what I have elsewhere said upon the subject of contact, and the impossibility of continuing to agree with others unless we also walk with them.

The question that will have to be faced as time goes on is as to what the general care for the weal of the Church comes to signify when the exigencies of events and the stress of attack put it seriously upon its defence. Meantime, let us suppose that some great personage was about to leave his mansion and the property that surrounded it, and let us suppose that before leaving he appointed one of his servants, a tried and trusted servant, to act as his steward during his absence. "All that you have to do is to keep an eye upon the whole place and see that the rules of the house are observed. I shall put the keys into your hands and you will know that you have my authority at your back." What more could he say short of constituting his servant the owner? To keep things as they are and to see that no one meddles. If such an interpretation as this shall eventually prove to be the true interpretation of the infallibility of the Church, and I have great hopes that so it will be, we shall have caught the first clear glimpse of Reunion.

V.

The modern Roman interpretation of these special gifts to St. Peter is as follows :—

- (a) Peter is the rock on which the Church is to be built by Christ, the chief Architect.
- (b) The impregnable strength which the Church was to have against the gates of Hell, depended on its union with Peter, as the divinely laid foundation.
- (c) Peter is marked out by Christ the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, as next to Him and after Him, the bearer of the Keys in the Church's Heavenly Kingdom.
- (d) Therefore the universal power of binding and loosing is promised to him, leaving him responsible to Christ alone, the supreme Lawgiver and Judge.
- (e) "Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in Heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven."

These words which are here said to Peter alone are elsewhere said to all the Apostles, Peter himself being with them ; and they are generally understood to refer to "the discipline of the Church ;" *e.g.*, "power to impose and take off penance, and to grant or withhold dispensations from the observance of Catholic customs of the Church, such as fasting in Lent. . . ."

VI.

4. "Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat : but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not : and when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren."

- (1) In this passage our Lord addresses Simon, although the subject of His address is not Simon merely, but all the Apostles ; and His turning thus to the individual

Apostle is the more striking inasmuch as He had immediately before been addressing all the Apostles together. Our Lord seems to say, "I look out upon you all and sorrow and anxiety fill My heart because I know that Satan has also fastened his eye upon you, and that he desires to have you; but this must not be, for you are Mine. I have therefore prayed for thee, Simon, that thy faith may remain unshaken, and thou in thy turn must confirm thy brethren."

A parallel has again been suggested between these words and the words in St. Matthew, thus :—

"Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church; and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

"But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."

- (2) Here, again, there is distinction and prominence; for our Lord not merely addresses Peter, but places him, so far, over his brethren.

This appears to be the proper interpretation of the words. Let us picture a merely human situation, and say that a class of children is before us. If we turned to one of them and said, "My child, I see that all of you in this class are inclined to neglect your work and are under temptation to do wrong. This has made me anxious: but I have prayed for you, that you may have strength to stand up against this temptation, and when you are thus strengthened you must also strengthen the others." You have not merely distinguished that child in your mind, but you have distinguished him also in his own, by placing him in a new relation to the rest. You pray for him, and he consequently comes to have more power; you do not directly pray for them, and they so far continue to have the same power. But it does not end here, because you announce to him what you have done, and it will be impossible for him to resist the conclusion that in one way or another he is their superior. Thus this act on the part of our Lord also discovers

the principle of which so much has already been said ; I mean the proportion with which things come before us in the Gospels, and how, wherever many are to be held together as a society and therefore in the bond of unity, more power is given to one ; that is, one emerges as the head. If I may reverently say it, it was not merely that our Lord took this step, but also it must have been the right step to take. He gives His sanction to the principle of headship when He deliberately takes the step of setting one disciple ahead of the rest.

However we regard it and describe it, our Saviour in this case gives more power to one than He does to the others, and such a measure of power is given to the one expressly that it may be used on behalf of the others. The meaning of "confirm" here is apparently to "fit something firmly together ;" and the interpretation which sees in these words a charge to do for the brethren after our Lord was no longer visibly with them what He had Himself done when He was visibly with them, appears to be a natural interpretation ; and our Saviour's words in St. John xvii. certainly appear to look in this direction. "While I was with them in the world, I kept them in Thy name . . . but now I come to Thee."

VII.

5. "So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me more than these? . . . Feed My lambs. . . . Feed My sheep." The whole passage should be read, of course (St. John xxi. 1-19).

- (1) The occasion was as follows : Seven disciples were together in a boat fishing, Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, and the sons of Zebedee being among them. Our Lord appears on the shore, and bids them cast their net on the right side of their ship ; they do so, and a multitude of fishes are taken. When Peter hears it is the Lord he casts himself into the water and goes to Him. They all come in answer to our Lord's invitation, and dine with

Him. It was the third time He had shown Himself to His disciples after His resurrection.

After dinner, with the seven disciples there before Him, He turns to Simon Peter and addresses him in the words of this passage.

- (2) Here, again, we come upon a distinction and a prominence. It is not merely that our Lord speaks to Simon as distinguished from the others and so brings him to the front in his own eyes and also in theirs; but in His words to the other Apostles we find no parallel to what He here says to Peter.

St. Peter we know had denied our Lord three times, and on this occasion he is solemnly asked three several times whether he loves Him. It is natural, then, that the one incident should recall the other, and they may have been intended, in our Lord's mind, so to do; but is this by itself an adequate explanation of the passage? "Shepherd" is a title ascribed to Almighty God in the Old Testament; "O Thou Shepherd of Israel, Thou that ledest Joseph like a sheep. . . ."

And what is ascribed in its primary sense to Almighty God is applied in a secondary sense to human leaders also.

David, who is set over the people, is called a shepherd; and the office in this case was found to involve the three functions of ruling, feeding, and defending. And when we come to the New Testament the title is expressly appropriated by our Lord to Himself. "I am the good Shepherd." And if at the end of His ministerial life our Lord turns to a disciple whom He has so frequently and so solemnly distinguished before, and bids him feed His lambs and feed His sheep; be a Shepherd to His sheep; is it not natural to interpret this of all our Lord's people and to infer that in some special sense Peter was himself to carry on our Lord's own work?

It has to be remembered that even in the last situation before our Lord's death, although Peter had failed, still he had not fled; and so far he had outstripped in a very marked

degree the rest of the Apostolic band. One would almost expect then, that they would have been severely rebuked in the first instance, and that some smaller measure of rebuke would have been administered to Peter afterwards ; that is, if Peter's fall had supplied the sole motive for this utterance.

(3) St. Ambrose interprets the passage thus : " The Lord does not doubt, but asks, not to learn, but to teach him whom on the point of ascending into Heaven He was leaving as it were the successor and representative of His love. It is because he alone out of all makes a profession that he is preferred to all. Lastly, for the third time the Lord asks him no longer ' Hast thou a regard (*diligis*) for Me ? ' but ' Lovest (*Amas*) thou Me ? ' and now he is ordered to feed, not the lambs as at first, who need a milk diet, nor the little sheep as secondly, but the more perfect sheep, in order that he who was the more perfect might have the government." And St. Chrysostom says : " He was the chosen of the Apostles, and the mouthpiece of the disciples, and the head of the band. Therefore also Paul once went up to see him rather than the rest. . . . He puts into his hands the presidency over the brethren. . . . He made great promises and put the world into his hands. . . . But if any one asks, ' How then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem ? ' I would reply that He elected Peter not to be the teacher of this throne, but of the whole world."

Pope Leo (461) : " Though there be among the people of God many priests and many shepherds, yet Peter rules all by immediate commission whom Christ also rules by sovereign power."

SECTION VI.—*The Dispute.*

I have also said that if the Visible Society of the Church had been destined to endure without a visible head some express words, and even some miraculous interposition on our

Lord's part, would have been necessary, and now I have to ask whether there is any record of such an act or of such words? And this brings us to another passage which is related to the Petrine texts, although it does not immediately belong to them; and this passage, again, has shared the fate of the others.

1. St. Matthew xvii. 24—xviii. 5. The occasion was as follows :—

- (1) Our Lord and His disciples had come to Capernaum, and the officers who were in the habit of collecting the tribute money, which was due to the Temple from all the children of Israel, come to Peter with these words : “Doth not your Master pay tribute?” Here, again, “your” is in the plural, and therefore refers to the whole body of disciples; and yet it is addressed to St. Peter. Does not this prove not merely that Peter may have shown in front of the rest by his own acts, not merely that our Lord may have intended him to do so, but also that those who looked on from outside so recognised him? They felt that he of all the disciples was the one to appeal to.
- (2) Our Lord then goes on to ask the question, “Of whom do the kings of the earth take custom or tribute? of their own children, or of strangers? Peter saith unto Him, Of strangers. Jesus saith unto him, Then are the children free.” This apparently meant that since our Lord was the Son of God, the Son of Him who was the Lord of the Temple, no tribute was really due from our Saviour, seeing that He was not a stranger, but the child. But in order to avoid scandal He bids Peter go to the sea and he will find in the mouth of the first fish that comes up a piece of money. This he is to take and to give them—“for Me and thee.”
- (3) The next words are: “At the same time came the disciples unto Jesus, saying, Who is the greatest in the Kingdom of Heaven?”

“At the same time”—thus this question lies close against the incident of the piece of money and the manner in which our Lord had associated Peter with Himself, and thereby again conferred upon him a distinction. And Origen connects the two in his explanation of the passage. The disciples, he says, considered it a very great honour that had been done to Peter, in having thus put him higher than the others, and they suspected that Peter was intended to be above them. Hence this question, “Which is the greatest . . . ?” And St. Chrysostom says that it was the modesty of Peter that induced him to shut out this incident from the Gospel of his disciple Mark.

He also agrees with Origen’s interpretation, but goes on to explain that the other Apostles were ashamed to say plainly, “Why is Peter preferred to us ?” But they propose the question in an indefinite form, “Who is the greater ?” And the same writer goes on to refer to the other occasions on which Peter was distinguished, pointing out that they would all come back to the Apostles’ minds in connexion with the particular incident before them.

2. Our Lord’s answer gives no satisfaction to them, but is addressed as so many of His replies are to the fundamental thought or temper that lay behind their question.

It was jealousy that prompted the interrogation, a desire not to have any one over their heads. That was what required an answer ; the apparent question being a matter that concerned our Lord Himself. Just as on another occasion when the disciples asked, “Are there few that be saved ?” our Lord’s answer was, “Strive to enter in at the strait gate ;” this first, and not until the end of the statement the words which satisfied their curiosity, as if our Lord would say, “Put all your energy into the effort to enter in”—that is the great point.

And so in the passage before us. He does not say, “There will be no visible head in My kingdom,” or “You are not to suppose that Peter is in any serious sense the greater.” Not this, but a description of the character of any one who was to be the greatest.

4. The dispute comes up again, even at the Last Supper, showing how powerful this characteristic is and how it is ever asserting itself. (St. Luke xxii. 24-31.) In this instance our Lord's answer is very striking. This was the third occasion on which the dispute had arisen ; and His answer may be best set down thus :—

- (a) "The Kings of the Gentiles
- (b) "Lord it over them.
- (c) "And they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors,
- (d) "But ye shall not be so."
- (a) "He that is greatest among you
- (b) "Let him be as the younger,
- (c) "And he that is chief
- (d) "As he that doth serve."
- (a) "For whether is greater,
- (b) "He that sitteth at meat
- (c) "Or he that serveth ?
- "I am among you as He that serveth."
- "Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations."
- (a) "I appoint unto you a kingdom
- (b) "As My Father hath appointed unto Me,
- (c) "That ye may eat and drink at My table
- (d) "And sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel."

St. Peter evidently has this admonition in his mind when he says : "Neither as being lords over God's heritage, but as being an ensample to his flock." A passage which if it is to be accounted fatal to headship over the Church as a whole might be urged equally against Episcopal power in any shape.

Meantime, I have set out the passages in this form in order that we may see how the various parts of it lie.

(1) Some parallels may be proposed.

(a) The Kings of the Gentiles : He that is greatest :
He that sitteth at meat.

(b) He that is younger : He that doth serve.

(c) My Father hath appointed a kingdom unto Me : I
appoint a kingdom unto you.

(d) The chief among the Apostles : The greatest.

(2) What we see when we look out into the world is : Kings ;
men in authority.

That is the starting-point, and our Lord does not quarrel with it. He does not say, there are men in the world who occupy the position of chiefs ; but such a position in itself is contrary to the will of God.

It is not the fact of authority being exercised ; but the way in which it is exercised that our Lord is attacking.

‘The Kings of the Gentiles exercise authority, of course ; but have you observed the way in which they exercise it ? They obtrude themselves in the act of exercising their authority ; so much so that their subjects come to look up to them and to speak of them as benefactors.

‘But with you who are My Apostles it must not be so. Here again there is the chief, but he must keep himself in the background, and exercise his authority as though he were a servant. That is how it is with Me : I am your Lord and Master ; and yet I wash your feet, and am as though I were your servant.’

If we would see how carefully the Apostles cultivated this spirit we may recognise it not merely in the passage I have quoted from St. Peter, but in a very marked degree in the language of St. Paul’s letter to Philemon.

In writing to the Galatians the Apostle asserts his authority because it is necessary to do so ; but to Philemon he writes : “Though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love’s sake I rather beseech thee. . . .”

How could this rule be of any avail with the Apostles if, owing to their state of absolute equality, it was impossible for them to apply it ?

On the whole, then, we may state the case thus :—

It is the Society of Christ that is before us ; and, therefore, as must necessarily be, the question of Government is before the mind of that Society ; and our Lord steps forward to interpret the situation.

‘ Unless you are warned beforehand you will be tempted to exercise authority in the same haughty and superior manner that you will see others doing about you. You are going out among the Gentiles ; and the danger is lest you should catch their spirit and adopt their tone.

‘ No, the Kingdom of Heaven has been before you for some little time, and although you know I am your Master, you know also that I behave with all the humility of a servant, and wish you to do the same ; with yourselves also it must be so ; the chief must be as though he were but a servant.’

It will, I think, be allowed that this is a momentous passage ; and is it possible, after contemplating it, to infer that our Lord set His face against the institution of a visible head ?

Do we come away from it saying, “ You see how clear our Lord made it that there was to be no visible head ” ? or do we say, “ You see from these words what manner of man the chief must be ” ?

Is it “ Our Saviour, of course, had a Kingdom disposed to Him ; but no Kingdom was disposed to the Apostles ” ? Or is it ‘ My Father disposed to Me a Kingdom, and you see how I exercise authority ; and I now dispose to you a Kingdom, and you must do likewise ? ’

Is not this dispute among the disciples a type of thousands of other disputes ; and are they not all resolved in one and the same way ?

SECTION VII.—*The Chair of Peter.*

So far we have made some attempt to view this question from the Catholic standpoint, to clear the atmosphere of prejudice, and to place ourselves more distinctly in line with the rest of our brethren in the West.

In all societies Unity is found to require the prominence of one, and such an one, by whatever title we may distinguish him, does in fact supply a visible centre to those who are associated with himself.

Since, then, it was part of our Lord's plan to form a visible society on earth, and since He allowed us to know that the Unity of that Society was the desire that lay nearest to His heart, it is natural to expect that He would provide means which should prove themselves adequate to that end; and furthermore that such means would follow in the line of an otherwise universal law unless some special divine interposition should intervene to prevent them.

Now, there is no record in the New Testament of such a divine interposition; on the contrary, there are various and distinct lines of evidence which appear to coincide with our anticipations. The Society, in the first instance, is marked off distinctly from the rest of the world; and a clear distinction is observed, in the second instance, in the person of St. Peter.

Again, in the first instance, the Society is found to group itself around the visible person of our Lord; and in the second instance, around the visible person of St. Peter.

In the chapters composing the first half of the Acts of the Apostles, where St. Luke "is recording the common exertions of all the Apostles in building up the Church," the narrative may be said to resolve itself almost into the "Acts of St. Peter," since it is he who is prominent throughout; assuming the lead apparently as a matter of course in every great situation, and suggesting the inference that after our Lord's ascension this distinguished Apostle was intended to stand "to the eleven in

an analogous position to that held by our Lord, so long as He was visible, towards the whole College." Thus we read of "Peter, standing up with the eleven;" and, again, "They said to Peter and the rest of the Apostles;" or, again, it is "Peter and those that were with him;" and whereas other Apostles seem to have visited only those Churches to which they had preached in the first instance, Peter's visitation appears to have extended throughout all. "Like a general," writes St. Chrysostom, "he went round surveying the ranks, seeing what portion was well massed together, what in order, what needed his presence. Behold him making his rounds in every direction."

Thus: "Then had the Churches rest throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria, and were edified; and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, were multiplied. And it came to pass as Peter passed throughout all quarters. . . ."

And whereas the Church of the New Testament comes before us, in the first instance, as the Church of the Circumcision and the Gentile Church is grafted upon it in order to coincide with it, making of both one, it is St. Peter who is at the head of that one; St. Paul sharing with him, though in a subordinate position, the glory of founding the central Church of the Gentile world.

So far, then, the natural inference is that the momentous words of our Lord, addressed to St. Peter and not to others, provide us with the proper explanation of St. Peter's distinction from the others; in other words, that this distinguished Apostle was head of the Apostolic College because our Lord intended him to be so.

I.

Now, this phenomenon of prominence is not confined to the pages of the Bible, but is equally conspicuous afterwards in the subsequent pages of Church history; there being in this latter

instance, from first to last, one conspicuous personage and one conspicuous See.

That the Roman See has been thus conspicuous from the first is a fact which requires no language to prove it; it appears on the face of Church history; the Epistle to the Romans witnesses to it within the Bible and all experience testifies to it outside. And the question of this prominence has a special interest for ourselves since the Church of England is herself a daughter of the Roman Church, and the division of this country into episcopal districts may be traced to Theodore, who was sent to this country by Vitalian, the Bishop of Rome.

Is there any historical connexion, then, between the personage who is prominent within the Bible and the See which appears to be continuously prominent outside it? In the natural order of God's providence Rome appears before us as the mistress of the civilised world and the visible centre of a universal empire.

This phenomenon cannot be regarded as an accident; and since the "fulness of time" discovers to us this proportion in the distribution of power it seems natural to infer that the universal empire was intended to pave the way and to provide the framework for the Universal Church.

The eyes of the Apostles would be directed to that visible centre at once; such an impulse would be inevitable, but it does not therefore follow that Christians in Rome would be superior in character to other Christians.

The Edict of Toleration was not published until A.D. 312, and the exiled Christians were not recalled until 324. At that point of time history speaks of Rome as "the chief stronghold of heathenism," and of Byzantium, the new capital, as being destined to present to the world the spectacle of a city that was wholly Christian.

As time advanced, and especially after the conversion of the Empire in the fourth century, the glory of the Civil and the glory of the Ecclesiastical order would be found, of course, to act and to re-act one upon the other; and the history of

such Sees as London, Winchester, and Durham, among ourselves, may serve to illustrate this. But the question before us is a question of fact, and we have to ask ourselves whether the See of Rome was glorious merely because it had its centre in the city of Rome, or mainly because it was the See of Peter.

Upon this point Mr. Everest speaks with earnestness but not without caution when he says, "I think it may be asked with some degree of confidence whether one single instance of a Roman Bishop can be found who claimed his unique position in Christendom, and the privileges attaching to it, whatever they might be, on any other ground than that he sat by inheritance in the chair of St. Peter." With our eyes, then, upon those early centuries of the Church which are understood to fall within the range of the Rule of Faith we have to enquire what particular evidence they provide upon this point.

St. Irenæus (A.D. 202), as we have seen, speaks of "the tradition," which the Church that is at Rome "had so recently received from the Apostles," in allusion to Clement's letter (A.D. 96). And it is admitted by all that at least for the first four centuries Rome was faithful to those traditions; and the same writer in a famous passage declares that "as it would be very long to enumerate in such a volume as this the succession of all the Churches; pointing out that tradition, which the greatest and most ancient and universally known Church constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, derives from the Apostles, and that faith announced to all men which through the succession of the Bishops had come down to us, we confound all those who in any way through caprice or vainglory, or blindness or perverse opinion, gather other than it behoveth. For with this Church on account of her supremacy, it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful everywhere, should be in communion; in which Church has ever been preserved, by the faithful everywhere, that tradition which is from the Apostles." The precise meaning of "Princeps" and "Principalis" must be reserved for scholars to decide. Meantime, I may call attention to an

interesting discussion, brief though it necessarily is, in a review of Father Puller's *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome* which appeared in the *Church Times* of October 19th, 1900 (p. 427). There the reviewer alludes to the rendering of Duchesne, who translates the words "*principalis ecclesia*" into "*l'église souveraine*;" and agrees with Father Puller in rejecting it, but differs from him as to the grounds upon which he rejects it.

In his third edition of *The Primitive Saints* the author joins himself to the noble army of martyrs who have not merely changed their minds but who have also had the candour to say so. Such writers, whatever their views on the question as a whole, must ever be regarded as the fast friends of the cause of Reunion.

Father Puller's latest attitude appears thus. He formerly referred the *potentior principalitas* of Irenæus to the imperial dignity of the City; he now understands it to mean the primatial position of the Church of Rome. This naturally induces him to consider very attentively the precise meaning and nature of this *principalitas*, and he finds himself in agreement on this point with the late Archbishop of Canterbury.

St. Cyprian comes upon the scene, we know, not long after Irenæus, and therefore the *principalis ecclesia* of the former is naturally examined in connexion with the *potentior principalitas* of the latter.

Dr. Benson goes so far as to say that the sense ("*l'église souveraine*") "was not included, implied, or allowed, in the term." The reviewer considers this "too much to say;" and for his own part he allows the force of the word *principalis* when looked at merely in itself, but then he thinks that it should not be looked at merely in itself but referred rather to the entire context of St. Cyprian's life and mind; a comment of which every one will recognise the justice.

As regards the word "*princeps*" the reviewer points out, that "as Tacitus shrewdly hints, it meant exactly the same as *rex* or *dictator*, and"—although Augustus had chosen that title

just because it was colourless, "it was not long in acquiring, for popular usage, the fulness of its real meaning." Again, later on, the reviewer writes, "It is hardly too much to say that if St. Cyprian had held the theory of Papal Monarchy, the phrase *ecclesia principalis* would naturally be used by him in the sense given to it by Duchesne. We reject the rendering," the reviewer goes on, "not on philological grounds, but because the known acts and opinions of the Saint prove that he did not hold that theory or use the word in that sense." The reviewer then goes on to say that in the case of Irenæus, "*potentior*" as a comparative proves that "*principalitas*" in that connexion "means not an unique supremacy residing in the Roman Church, but a dignity common to many Churches among which Rome took the lead." This I understand to be the view sometimes described as "*Primus inter pares*." For myself I must acknowledge that if I were anxious for another person not to rule over me I should not feel sure of securing my rights so long as he was allowed to be described as *Primus*, even though I might myself be known as *Par*.

I speak with all respect when I suggest how extremely difficult it appears to preserve this relation in the case of our own or of any other Episcopate; but the point upon which we have to press is the distinction in the claim of the *Primus*. Was the claim of the *Primus* of the same nature as the claim of the *Pares*? Or was it altogether different? Did the *Primus* say, "I am *Primus* because I am Bishop in the Imperial City," or—"I am *Primus* because I am sitting in Peter's chair"? As regards the degree of authority exercised by the *Primus* in this case we have to remember the pressure from behind of the whole weight of Petrine texts and the atmosphere of the entire New Testament situation by which they are supported, and which brings them to bear upon the question. If the Bishop of Rome in attempting, as every earnest man must attempt, to realise his full measure of responsibility was controlled merely by the double thought, "What ought I to do as a Bishop, and moreover as a Bishop

in the Imperial City?" the Petrine texts may not have vexed his conscience overmuch; but if a third consideration had to be reckoned with, thus: "What ought I to do as the successor of St. Peter and as a Bishop ruling from within the Imperial City?"—then all experience goes to show that there would be a constant recurrence to the texts in question and to the tradition handed down to the Bishop from those who went before. All experience serves to suggest that, as the scope of the Church's work widened, all manner of difficult and delicate adjustments in the distribution of power would become necessary; that numberless frictions would arise in the process; and that in attempting to justify their action men would persuade themselves at least, and attempt to persuade others also, that they had divine sanction to support each several step they allowed themselves to take. This applies to the whole circumference of the question. Actual human nature would be at work everywhere, and everywhere it would assert itself.

Constantinople, for instance, became a new centre and soon gained prestige and position; the question would then present itself—How to promote and advance this position. It would then fall back upon its resources; and the utmost it could say would be that it was the New Rome, and jealousy would certainly arise between itself and old Rome. It would be natural, too, in face of the rapidly developing power or extravagant claims, if you will, of the Holy See that the New Rome should close one eye and view the Roman claims only with the other; should lay stress, that is, upon what may be described as the argument from the Imperial City and say little as to the argument from the Apostolic See.

This is what appears to have happened at Chalcedon (451). At this point of time Leo is seated on the Apostolic throne, and being a man of strong and deep character we find him examining Petrine texts minutely, expounding them magisterially, and making full proof of his ministerial position in every direction.

But Constantinople is anxious to advance also, and perhaps

“Eastern bishops secretly felt that the cause of Constantinople was theirs;” and perhaps also the Emperor Marcian was anxious “to advance New Rome” and ready therefore to support the Council of Chalcedon in any attempt it might make to withstand the claims of Leo, so the Council in the event settles itself down into soberness and frames a conscientious canon, as if it would say to its elder sister, ‘We are both great, are we not?’—for we seldom praise others without contriving that a little of our praise may react upon ourselves—‘we are both great; and both for the same reason; with this distinction only, that you have a larger measure of that reason than I.’ The “Fathers had always given Rome the first place because Rome was the Royal City. And with the same object, the Second Œcumenical Council of Constantinople assigned equal dignity to the city of New Rome.” So runs the Canon. But what does Leo I. say to this? “He calls to mind with indignation the grounds on which Constantinople had received these privileges as being the second city of the Empire: ‘as if the Primacy of Rome was the result of her being the capital city of the West, and not the See of St. Peter.’” “The basis of the divine arrangements is not that of the secular State.”

And what does Leo XIII. say to-day? “The 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon, by the very fact that it lacks the assent and approval of the Apostolic See, is admitted by all to be worthless.” Nevertheless, we have seen that the same Council in addressing Leo says that “to him the custody of the vineyard had been committed by the Saviour.”

And how this concerns the Church of England appears not merely in her later relations with the Apostolic See, but also in the fact that this Council is one of the General Councils that are received by her.

II.

There were disputes among the Apostles, as we have already seen, as to which should be the greatest, and yet it is

not difficult to see that St. Peter did, in fact, occupy that position ; and so from such an illustration as I have adduced from the Council of Chalcedon, it is not difficult to discern the prominent Bishop, however jealous others may be of his power, or however much he may be tempted to make an extravagant use of it. The proportion is preserved ; and proportion is the leading thought in our minds throughout. Let it be understood that I am not here attempting to measure the power of the Pontiffs ; all that I have to do is to illustrate my argument that the Church of God has never been without its prominent personage, and that that personage has justified and accounted for his prominence by claiming to be a successor of St. Peter.

St. Cyprian (A.D. 250), as we have seen, refers to the Roman See as “the See of Peter and the principal Church, whence the unity of the priesthood took its rise. . . . Whose faith has been commended by the Apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access.”

And so, again, St. Julius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 337-352), in the course of blaming the Eusebian party for acting on their own responsibility, addresses them thus : “For what we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, that I signify to you ; and I should not have written this as deeming that these things are manifest unto all men, had not these proceedings so disturbed us.” The Eusebians had taken action in reference to Athanasius, and then came afterwards to Julius for his approval. This he described as “another form of procedure, a novel practice.”

Pope Damasus (A.D. 366-384), in a letter which he wrote to the Eastern Bishops against Apollinaris, addresses them thus : “In that your charity pays the due reverence to the Apostolical See ye profit yourselves the most, most honoured sons, for if, placed as we are in that Holy Church in which the Holy Apostle sat and taught, how it becometh us to direct the helm to which we have succeeded, we nevertheless confess ourselves unequal to that honour ; yet do we therefore study as

we may, if so be we may be able to attain to the glory of his blessedness."

And the famous passage from St. Jerome to this Pope so far corroborates his own claim: "I speak with the successor of the fisherman and the disciple of the Cross. I, following no one as my chief but Christ, am associated in communion with thy blessedness, that is, with the See of Peter. I know that on that rock the Church is built." Ambrosiaster, a Pelagian in doctrine, describes the Church as "God's house, whose ruler at this time is Damasus, and Basil entreats St. Damasus to send persons to arbitrate between the Churches of Asia Minor, or at least to make a report on the authors of their troubles and name the party with which the Pope should hold communion." "We are in no wise asking anything new," he proceeds, "but what was customary with blessed and religious men of former times, and especially with yourself. For we know, by tradition of our fathers of whom we have enquired, and from the information of writings still preserved among us, that Dionysius, that most blessed Bishop, while he was eminent among you for orthodoxy and other virtues, sent letters of visitation to our Church at Cæsarea, and of consolation to our fathers, with ransomers of our brethren from captivity." St. Siricius, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 384-398), writes: "We bear the burden of all who are laden; yea, rather the blessed Apostle Peter beareth them in us, who, as we trust in all things protects and defends us the heirs of his government." And St. Optatus, addressing the Donatist, Parmenian: "You cannot deny your knowledge that in the city of Rome on Peter first hath an episcopal See been conferred, in which Peter sat, the head of all the Apostles . . . in which one See Unity might be preserved by all, lest the other Apostles should support their respective Sees, in order that he might be at once a schismatic and a sinner, who against that one See (*Singularem*) placed a second. Therefore that one See (*Unicam*), which is the first of the Church's prerogatives, Peter filled first; to whom succeeded Linus" (he then names

subsequent Popes) "to Damasus, Siricius who at this day is associated with us (Socius), together with whom the whole world is in accordance with us, in the one bond of communion by the intercourse of letters of peace."

St. Innocent, Bishop of Rome (A.D. 417), "Diligently and congruously do ye consult the arcana of the Apostolical dignity" (this, to the Council of Milevis), "the dignity of him on whom, besides those things which are without, fall the care of all the Churches; following the form of the ancient rule, which you know as well as I, has been preserved always by the whole world."

And St. Augustine characterises Innocent's procedure as being "religious and becoming in the Bishop of the Apostolic See."

Pope St. Celestine (A.D. 425) addresses the Illyrian Bishops: "We have especial anxiety about all persons on whom, in the Holy Apostle Peter, Christ conferred the necessity of making all men our care, when He gave him the keys of opening and shutting."

And St. Prosper, at the same time calls Rome "the Seat of Peter, which being made to the world the head of pastoral honour, possesses by religion what it does not possess by arms;" and Vincent of Lerins describes the Pope as "the head of the world."

III.

A few special words may here be said in regard to the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451).

At this point of time Leo I. was the Pope; and the question we have to ask is, What notion he entertained of his own position, and how far the language of the Council lends any sanction to that notion?

And first as regards St. Leo's notion of his own office:—

"Though these (Bishops) have a like dignity, yet have they not an equal jurisdiction, since even among the most

blessed Apostles, as there was a likeness of honour so there was a certain distinction of power, and the election of all being equal, pre-eminence over the rest was given to one. From which type the distinction between Bishops also has arisen, and it was provided by a great ordering that all should not claim to themselves power over all but that in every province there should be one whose sentence should be considered the first among his brethren; and others, again, seated in the greater cities, should undertake a larger care, through whom the direction of the Universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and nothing anywhere disagree from its head" (*Ep.* 14, St. Leo).

Now, on the other hand, what was said at the Council itself? One of the Papal legates, Paschasinus, said: "We have in our hands the commands of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Pope of the city of Rome, which is the head of all Churches, in which his Apostleship has thought good to order that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council, etc., etc."

And another legate says of Dioscorus that he "dared to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See which never was lawful, never has been done."

And Dioscorus was subsequently condemned by the legates in the following terms: "Leo, most holy and blessed Archbishop of great and elder Rome, by us and by this holy Council together with the most blessed Apostle Peter, who is the rock and ground of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the right faith, hath stripped him as well of the rank, etc., etc."

Here the prominent position of Leo is introduced incidentally as though it called for no proof, and is apparently recognised by the Council, no protest being offered.

Furthermore, the Council in its formal synodal letter addresses Leo as "the interpreter to all of the voice of blessed Peter;" he is said to have "presided over them as the head over the members;" and "he is entrusted by the Saviour with the guardianship of the vine;" and finally they declare that their acts await his confirmation.

Now, here we have the formal and express words of the Pope himself ; next of his legates presiding over a Council of Eastern Bishops ; and lastly of the synodal letter addressed to the Pope by the Council itself ; and the fact which stands out for all to see it, is the fact of the prominence of one Bishop ; in other words, the primacy of the Holy See. And since this is one of the four Councils acknowledged by the Anglican Church, I venture to say that the fact of the primacy is lodged in the Anglican base ; and therefore that to be a true Anglican one must be in some sense Roman. "The Vine" is a remarkable expression which had been previously used by St. Cyril and St. Augustine of the Holy Catholic Church ; and of this entire (visible) Church St. Leo is formally recognised as the guardian.

It is important to distinguish between the precedence of Patriarchs and the primacy of the first Bishop. The former is a matter of ecclesiastical arrangement ; whereas the latter is understood to be derived from our Lord Himself through St. Peter as the prince of the Apostles.

IV.

Now, it is understood, of course, that almost any ecclesiastical position can be proved either from the text of Scripture or from the writings of the Fathers by a judicious selection of passages ; but, so far, my aim throughout is only to make some contribution in the shape of materials for discussion. I think it will be allowed that in most, if not in all instances, the statements I have adduced constitute complete statements for the purpose for which I have adduced them. I have not allowed myself to quote any words about which there has been dispute as to their genuineness. The false ever seems to shadow the true ; false miracles follow in the wake of those that are true ; and so false readings or interpolations are found alongside of those that are genuine. And certainly it is possible on either side of any question to gather out of

many various sources and to bring together into one place passages which are calculated to mislead just because they are so collected.

What appears to me so necessary just now is that we should make some attempt to fall into line with the majority of the Western Church in the matter of interpretation, otherwise it will be possible for any of us to prove almost any position and to keep our own portion of the mystical body of Christ in a state of perpetual unrest and isolation.

We have seen, for instance, that some Fathers may dwell more upon the faith of Peter than upon his person; and yet that others will so dwell upon both as to suggest an adjustment rather than to present an alternative. This is the constructive method and therefore so far congenial to that atmosphere of unification which is understood to be a characteristic of our time.

I think St. Augustine's position may be identified with this. An allusion has been made elsewhere to his *Retractions*, especially in relation to the Petrine texts; but in spite of this he appears always to see the visible Church with those proportions upon it that I have indicated. In his eyes St. Peter represents the Church. Very well, if I came into the presence of a Society and asked for its representative, who alone from among the multitude would step out from the others and come to the front? Surely one, and only one; that one who was looked up to by the rest, and recognised in some sense as their head or centre; and this is the position St. Peter appears to occupy in the Apostolic College. As St. Augustine himself expresses it: "Peter who by reason of the Primacy of his Apostolate represented the person of the Church" (*In Johan.* cxxiv. 5).

If we visit the Apostles at the critical moments in the early history of the Acts, whom do we see in the centre? Who is the representative person? Always St. Peter, and that without any word of dissent from the others.

V.

From what we have seen, then, and with the thought of proportion in our minds to govern all we say, it is plain that the inequality which is everywhere apparent in the natural order, and which, as I have elsewhere said, issues necessarily in the prominence of one ; wherever, that is, a society presents itself and is to be sustained ; it is plain that this inequality is not destroyed but rather sanctified for the divine use when it passes over the line into the supernatural sphere.

The disciples were given to our Saviour by the eternal Father ; and they came, like other men, with certain characters or distinctions already stamped upon them. Our Lord, in His turn, appears to have recognised these distinctions and given to them His own stamp and seal ; Simon being so recognised from the outset as the principal person, and therefore receiving the name of Peter. And if a Head is visible throughout the New Testament, first in the Person of our Lord Himself, and afterwards in the person of His disciple, this order, so far, is only preserved, and cannot be said to be transgressed if we find a visible Head in the subsequent history of the Church.

If at the first it is said, "Jesus and those that were with Him ;" and if, later on, the formula is not destroyed but transformed into "Peter and those that were with him ;" there is nothing to startle us, on the contrary, it fulfils the expectations of those first days when we find St. Irenæus subsequently laying down the principle that "with this Church, because of its supremacy, it is necessary that the faithful everywhere should be in communion."

VI.

It is sometimes objected that the evidence in favour of the Holy See should not be recognised so far as it emanates from itself ; and that Popes must not be suffered to expound their

own position. But this is a line of argument which I cannot personally follow.

I doubt whether any one else in England realises the responsibility and the proper status of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the Archbishop does himself.

Human nature may be tempted to magnify its office ; and it is natural and all for the best that it should have a strong bias in its favour ; but it will at least say all that is to be said in its behalf ; and on the other hand, where it is a question of government the first impulse of a subject is to resist authority, and the next to look about in search of respectable reasons for doing so.

What does a newly-elected Bishop first do ? He asks himself the question, "What am I ?" And the answer discloses the name of the See over which he is to preside ; he next interests himself in those who have gone before him in the See ; and finally goes on to ask what line of action was adopted by them on the whole and more particularly in critical cases.

In the year 1901, for instance, when the great historic See of Durham was about to be filled, the question everywhere suggested itself as to whether there would be a continuity of principles as between Lightfoot and Westcott in the past and Dr. Moule in the future ; and Dr. Moule himself surely shared in this sentiment. It was impossible for him, even though he had wished it, to avoid dwelling upon the illustrious names of his predecessors, and pushing his finger back and back along the historical line of the See until he touched the very point of its beginning. And when troubles come up will he not find himself more and more thrown back upon the past, both for his own support and also to satisfy the demands of his rebellious subjects when they cry out for his credentials ?

"Sinner and unworthy as we are, we occupy the chair and Apostolic office of St. Peter. It is he who receives that which thou sendest us in writing. . . ." So the great Hildebrand addresses Henry, on the eve of the great historic struggle.

And in another place he reassures himself as to his motives, by feeling as it were behind him to be sure that his support is there. "God is our witness, that no personal motive, no secular end, impels us to raise against ourselves bad princes and impious priests, but solely the consideration of our bounden duty and the power of the Apostolic Chair, which presses upon us day by day."

VII.

Some allusion may here be made to objections that are sometimes offered to the Primacy of St. Peter in the Apostolic College.

1. The Mission to Samaria. That Peter should have been sent with John to Samaria is urged as an argument against his headship. And yet is not the representative the one of all others who would be selected to go, and that some one should accompany him is both natural and inevitable; and in this instance it is the Apostle whose name is most prominent in the New Testament after that of Peter himself. It has been pointed out that Peter himself was one of the body that selected and not merely one of the two who were sent; and, as I am contending, was himself the head of that body.

In the event he takes the leading part in Samaria, witness the whole scene between himself and Simon Magus, whom he excommunicates; no mention of St. John being connected with this act.

In his speech at Amsterdam in 1900, the President of the Transvaal Republic declared: "I have not come here as a fugitive but by order of my Government, in order to secure the termination of a War."

2. There is more difficulty at first sight in the instance of St. Paul and St. Peter at Antioch; but it soon disappears, I think, on closer inspection. Dr. Hort says: "What St. Paul rebuked was not a doctrinal but a moral aberration of St. Peter; he was simply unfaithful to his own convictions."

Indeed, it is a question whether St. Paul's own peculiar description of the case does not even bear some testimony to the Primacy. It plainly cost him something to do as he did : "I withstood him to the face," as if he would also say—"in spite of his dignity and position.'

It is the legitimate boast of one who has had the courage to rebuke a superior, where the exceptional nature of the occasion required it. And such a view of this incident is supported by the context of St. Paul's life. He was not one of the original twelve at the beginning, and was himself at first one of the most formidable opponents of the Faith. After his conversion the first visible person to whom he turned his eyes was St. Peter, journeying to Jerusalem in order to pay him a formal visit, and expressly leaving it on record that at that momentous epoch in his life he saw no other save James. In the second portion of the Acts, of course, St. Paul's name and personality are prominent throughout, but not in connexion with the fundamental organisation of the Church as such, but with his own special department of the mission ; a department which comes second, not first, being subsequent and subordinate to the Church of the circumcision ; the Gentile Church, as we have already said, having been grafted on to the original Church ; the Church of the Circumcision ; and of that Church St. Peter was, *ex hypothesi*, the head.

CHAPTER IV.

DIVISIONS.

It may be convenient to consider Contradiction and not Division as the proper antithesis of Unity ; and to restore the proportions of Christendom, not to destroy its divisions, as the proper aim of Reunion.

Power belongs to God and is variously distributed to man. No sooner does it emerge than it is found also to diverge, until it issues at length in the whole diversified scene of nature outside us and our own wondrous complex nature within.

So to regard Divisions is to recognise them as a necessary condition of our case ; it being only when they are pressed beyond their limits that we rightly describe them as contradictions or conveniently characterise them as unhappy.

Unity is not uniformity, although the two ideas are often confounded ; and discrimination in the use of the term Division will perhaps best secure the proper distinction between them.

Let the idea of Division, then, be considered as at once necessary and subordinate to the idea of Unity, and our unhappy Divisions or Contradictions as destructive or antagonistic to its life.

SECTION I.—*The Distribution of Power.*

A man is rightly called an individual in spite of the divisions within him ; his divisions being divisions of labour,

and the various functions of his body converging to one centre and contributing to one whole. Only so far as there is war among the members does the body cease to be sound and tend towards dissolution.

And so with man's spiritual nature: desire and reason have each their part to play; and since desire is adapted to quicken the operations of reason, and reason in its turn to regulate and realise the objects of desire, the Division is so far a division of labour. And it is the same with the other poles of the human consciousness; the mischief only then coming in when two departments are found to act one against the other instead of co-operating towards a common end. When there is a proper balance of power among the members of the body and their functions it is known as health; and when a due proportion is observed among the spiritual activities of the soul we call it holiness.

II.

Again; when we view man in relation to those around him, since no one individual or corporation can know or do everything, action and knowledge must plainly be divided up; and this without any danger of conflict except in so far as the Division is pressed into a contradiction.

An army in the field may comprise several Divisions, and yet are they not unhappy, inasmuch as their ultimate aim is one and the same, and their broad line of action subservient to the deliberate plan of one directing head.

This would be another instance of a division of labour; the element of unhappiness or of contradiction being entirely away.

SECTION II.—*Bias.*

The various distribution of power, of which I have been speaking, begins with our beginning, and is not merely a gift subsequent to our birth.

I.

It is the fashion to assume that men are equal and indifferently at the outset, their several minds being like so many clean slates waiting only for the map of truth to be traced upon them. But on the contrary we are born, every one of us, with bents, leanings or inclinations, which have a tendency to become more prominent in proportion as our natures are more real ; and distinct types of human character are found to emerge and to persist in the actual world about us. Circumstance, of course, also has its part to play, as a factor, real if less powerful, in producing and promoting division ; its various forms being found sometimes to combine with inherent tendency and sometimes to counteract it.

Material barriers, such as mountains, rivers, and seas, impose their proper limitations ; various habits and customs are the necessary outcome of variation in climate ; the rich fall into one division and the poor into another ; and society everywhere reacts upon the individual.

It is not an abstract question that we are considering, but the phenomenon of bias, as seen in the individual man, when viewed in his actual setting ; and when so viewed it is plain that bias is a permanent fact, that it tends, of itself, to give birth to divisions ; and that divisions, as we have already seen, only then become unhappy when pressed and exaggerated into contradictions.

Some are born to rule and some to bow and submit ; some minds are cast in an abstract and some in a concrete mould ; some are prone to scepticism and some to belief ; some develop a scientific and some a poetical habit ; some minds are argumentative and some abhor argument. Or again, there are orthodox minds and rationalistic minds ; minds with a leaning towards ceremonial and minds that turn away from it ; such distinct and various tempers being found to pick a way for themselves, to feed on material that is congenial to their natures, and so ultimately to settle themselves into divisions or departments.

II.

We can scarcely imagine St. John the Evangelist reading Paley's *Evidences* or wading through the *Analogy* of Bishop Butler : such material would not be congenial to his particular disposition of mind ; but there would be nothing unnatural in his commending these works to St. Thomas, since the mind of St. Thomas may be referred to the sceptical, and that of St. John to the believing, order ; that is, the sceptical and believing tempers represent their respective bents or leanings, and so far a well-marked division comes out to view.

St. John might, of course, protest that such elaborate evidence was not merely unsuited to his own mind but also unnecessary to the mind of St. Thomas ; while St. Thomas, on his part, might aver, as Huxley was apt to do after him, that justification is by verification, that if it was necessary for himself to see, and for himself to insert his fingers into, the print of the nails, it was equally necessary also for St. John and for all others, and that otherwise it would be immoral for any one whatsoever to believe. But this would have been to assume the very position I am deprecating, namely, that the minds of the two disciples and all other minds were equal and indifferent instead of recognising the several divisions into which they everywhere naturally fall.

A medical man, who believed in spite of difficulties, was once heard to say that when he listened to the record of some miracle in the Bible he found himself travelling over in his mind conscientiously from point to point the whole course of normal, natural, and ordinary antecedent causes which are generally understood to produce the given effect.

Here was a man whose bent had originally landed him in the laboratory and introduced him to a society of minds congenial to his own ; outward circumstances and daily habit, therefore, confirming the proper tendency within, until on entering another division, or being confronted by another aspect of thought, the effort of adjusting the focus was apt to

prove almost too much for him, tempting him, therefore, to confuse a general with a necessary law, and simply to reject what was to him a strange phenomenon.

Thus, in the sphere of evidences St. Thomas has come to be recognised as the prototype of a multitude of sceptical tempers, destined in later times to succeed him ; the function of his bias being to elicit precisely that kind of evidence without which it would have been impossible alike for himself and for them to believe.

Our Lord reproached him, it is true, but then He also went on afterwards so far to recognise his peculiar temper, as to supply him with evidence that was adequate to it, and thereby to secure a berth or division for his particular temperament within the setting of the Catholic Church.

On the whole, then, there will be minds or tempers belonging to St. Thomas's order, and they must come to believe, if they are to believe at all, in St. Thomas's way ; and there will be tempers or minds fashioned after the likeness of St. John who will come to believe in St. John's way ; the two orders of mind being enabled to coalesce and to live together in Unity, not by futile attempts to ignore this Division but by a steady determination to observe it.

Men do not all approach truth by the same route ; and so long as the line of any particular route has a recognised place on the map of God's providence, no one has the right to strike his pen through it, try vainly to compel all men whatsoever into one rut, and quarrel with others merely because they are not himself.

III.

The relation of dogma to devotion may supply us with another instance ; bias in this case being more pronounced because feeling is more prominent.

Each may be said to have its own proper division or department and its own proper function to perform ; the ideal

relation being where devotion imparts life and warmth to dogma, dogma in its turn waiting on devotion, supplying it with form, enriching it with ideas, and thereby saving it from running to seed. An affectionate and emotional child will make use of language that will not bear the scrutiny of a severe logic. "Dearest Mother, I owe everything to you; it was you who saved me and none other; but for you I should have been lost."

This sentence, when looked at as a whole and judged according to the principles of devotion, is certainly sound, and yet each of its three members is literally untrue; exaggeration being a vice where we are aiming at dogmatic precision, and a virtue when we step over into the department of devotion.

In other words, such language only then appears unsound when dragged from its proper setting and arraigned before a judge who has no jurisdiction over it.

It is true, of course, that excesses and abuses in devotional language declare themselves from time to time, devotion as such disclosing a tendency towards extravagance, wherever it has free play; but it is also true, though not always remembered, that where devotion is too severely controlled it is apt to die out altogether.

In the case of human relations the unrestrained outpourings of the heart are wont to find a channel for themselves apart from the rude gaze of strange and unsympathetic eyes; and so with the relation of the soul to God, a distinction must be carefully observed between devotional language habitually repeated by an individual and preserved for his own purposes, perhaps, in a private diary, and the same language, when wrested from its proper setting, exhibited in a text-book, and prescribed, without distinction, for many and various minds.

In circumstances so strange as this, such language will appear shocking to some, ridiculous to others, and in any case congenial only to a few.

Again, within the sphere of devotion large room will have to be found for racial and national characteristics as well as

for individual temperaments belonging to the same nation or to the same race.

The phlegmatic temperament so common among the English and German races belongs to one department or division, and the warm-hearted and fiery temperament of the Spaniard or the emotional temperament of the Frenchman to another ; and the expression of the emotions must, of course, reflect this divergence.

To us Englishmen, living as we do on an island and therefore to some extent in a state of enforced separation from the rest of the world, the temperament of the Southern races must ever appear strange.

IV.

So far we have seen that since the Church is intended to comprise a vast multitude of believers from out of every nation under Heaven, the fact to be recognised is variation in characteristics, and the habit to be acquired and assiduously cultivated is that sense of proportion which seeks to preserve the balance among these characteristics, and which may be said almost to constitute the very spirit of Catholicity itself.

By way of illustrating and enforcing what I have so far been attempting to say, I cannot refrain from quoting at some length from a striking passage in the *Joint Pastoral* of the Roman Catholic Bishops recently addressed by them to their people in England. Anglicans would not be able to follow them into some special applications of their principles, but with these principles themselves few among us, I think, would be found to quarrel.

The special variation to which allusion is made is variation in the department of devotion, but the language of the Bishops will be found also to have a wider application.

“The range of devotional acts,” they say, “is wide and long—reaching from the sublime elevation of the soul and its seraphic communion with God on the heights of Tabor or of

Calvary—from the perfect and permanent consecration of the mind, will, life and person to God's love and service—through an infinite variety of national vibrations of feeling and public manifestations of faith and piety, down to the simple and spontaneous expression of a personal devotion. Provided there be nothing inconsistent with the doctrines of faith, provided religious dignity and the proprieties of persons, time and place be decorously observed, these various manifestations of religious sentiment are not alien to the mind of the Church, and they are not to be despised and condemned as out of harmony with modern thought, nor is the expression of feeling and temper of one nation to be censured because not in accord with that of another.

“Man's religious life is like his person, which is not simply a skeleton, but is built up in form and rounded figure, and endowed with subtle feelings and with the graces of feature, colour and complexion. His religious life is not as bare fibre of a tree without foliage to adorn it, to protect its fruit and to assist the essential functions of nutrition. But in man the external growth of religious practices corresponds and co-operates with his inner life, helping, protecting and embellishing it in manifold ways.

“God in His wisdom has constituted all organic life upon earth complex, with interdependent parts; and most of all is this true of men's intellectual, moral, and physical being. In addition to what is essential he is enriched with a thousand accidental gifts and properties; there are internal and hidden as well as external and visible ‘functions;’ and no form of beauty worthy of contemplation, no integrity of life worthy of admiration can ever be attained without the contribution of each and every part to the beauty and perfection of the whole.

“It is therefore ‘reasonable’ to praise the Church for large minded and affectionate care of her disciples when, in addition to the great acts of Religion and the Sacraments, she opens out so wide a field of devotional exercises, to be used

according to the taste and attraction of her children who are of all races and tribes."

The Catholic sentiment of this passage, when viewed apart, as I have said, from some special applications of it, will commend itself, I think, to all.

V.

But the difficulty of our unhappy divisions goes deeper than anything I have yet touched, and has its root in sin, in the perversity of will, which is the outcome of sin, and in that dislocation of man's whole nature which is everywhere found to result.

Thus, the one unhappy division which lies at the root of all others is the division between man and his Maker, exaggerated as it was at the time of the Fall into a contradiction ; and it was this that the Incarnation of our Saviour was intended to correct.

In the person of Christ that division which must ever subsist as between God and Man is restored once more to its normal state.

Thus, in the Agony in the Garden, two wills, the human and the divine, are before us, and a division therefore comes out to view ; a division, moreover, which appears likely at first sight to develop into a contradiction and conflict.

Not to have desired the Cup to pass from Him would not have been human in our Saviour, but the expression of this desire was limited by a qualification,—“nevertheless,” “if it be possible ;” if, that is, the Cup can so pass, without disturbing the proportion of things, if its so doing would be in conformity with the divine plan ; “Nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done.”

Thus the whole situation served to illustrate at once the limitation and the proper dependence of man : and the introduction of this momentous “nevertheless” secured that due subordination which is the necessary condition, everywhere, of

order and unity. Since God is the Maker of all things and not merely of some, His is the only true point of view from which to regard them, and His mind, if I may reverently say it, is necessarily universal, and essentially Catholic.

It follows from this that the way to acquire the Catholic temper is what is sometimes described as the practice of the presence of God, or the habit of holding communion with Him.

Thus the spiritual is sometimes contrasted with the carnal mind, as when it is said that to be carnally-minded is death, but to be spiritually-minded is life and—peace ; as if it would say that the higher our thoughts ascend the more spiritual they become, and in becoming more spiritual they come to have more of that wisdom which is first pure ; that is unmixed, unadulterated, free from that spirit of contradiction and contention which has been only too successful in vexing and disturbing the otherwise happy relations of Christians.

The way to compose our quarrels, then, is not to dwell upon our differences, but to lift our eyes and to look beyond the circle of ourselves ; to attain, so far as we may, the Divine point of view, and to look out as God Himself looks out upon all mankind and not merely upon some. The whole universe, whether spiritual or material, is alive with centres and with the systems, whether great or small, that circle round them, but these are gradually and grandly related so as to depend upon Him who is Himself the ultimate and perfect Centre of all things. Now, it was the attempt on the part of man to set up an independent centre and to regard the world from a point of view of his own ; this it was that was the occasion of the Fall ; and contradiction and confusion were the immediate outcome of an attempt to play a part for which he was never intended. In this way false centres have come to be the very life of our unhappy divisions. We centre round our own subjects until all other subjects whatsoever become uncongenial to us ; and we centre round ourselves until all other persons whatsoever appear strange.

Thus at the beginning of the last century it was no uncommon thing for English people to protest that they hated foreigners ; some few may still be found who hold the same language.

We are under a temptation to resent the presence of any one or anything that is strange ; quite apart from the intrinsic value that attaches to them. They are something that we have to learn to understand if we are to live with them ; and this means effort, and effort demands the sacrifice of self, and fallen man is instinctively on his guard against this which would constitute a revolution in the entire attitude of his life. Over and beyond the gift which imparts a bent to our nature there is the one great bent of all, which is sin ; and it is this that introduces the element of contradiction and unhappiness into the situation. A man's own centre is congenial and other centres are not ; when actual life, then, compels some contact and circumstances seem to call at least for coalition, prejudice starts up as the most respectable reason for preserving the barrier and shutting out the efforts that are necessary to remove it ; and grave "reasons" are advanced. Thus Darwin uses his eyes, and the sphere of observation is his proper sphere and therein he recognises his proper centre ; but when he steps out of this sphere, he either feels lost or everything is an effort to him. "Now, for many years," he writes, "I cannot endure to read a line of poetry."

And again, when looking out towards another sphere, viz. : deductive reasoning—"I find that my mind is so fixed by the inductive method that I cannot appreciate deductive reasoning."

And when we come to read such books as Darwin's upon the *Movements of Climbing Plants*, and attempt to appreciate the peculiar absorption required for such continuous and protracted study, and when furthermore we recognise the limitations of our nature, even in the most remarkable exhibitions of it, it is hard to understand how Darwin could come to appreciate the results of any abstract reasoning whatsoever, except in the way of faith and authority.

I will now go on to consider some divisions which have in the course of history been so far exaggerated into contradictions as to disturb the peace and unity of the Church, and therefore to call for special remark.

SECTION III.—*The Church and the Nation.*

The barriers imposed by the hand of God in the natural order, to which allusion has already been made, barriers, for instance, of mountain, river, and sea, which can be reduced though not destroyed, and which check rather than forbid our passage, are not evils in themselves, and yet may become the occasions of evil where whole sections of people, whether nations or otherwise, are disposed to hug their isolation by fencing themselves round with prejudice, and mistaking their own circle of ideas or interests for the whole world.

That is sometimes described as Nationalism, by which I understand the spirit of a people so far as it not merely centres round itself, as of course it naturally must, but also refuses to centre round anything else ; thereby shutting out the very idea of a Catholic Church as our Lord Himself proposed it.

I.

For a nation to be loyal to its own institutions, and proud of its own achievements and progress is natural, and therefore according to the Divine will ; but where is the necessary contradiction between this, the proper life of the nation as such, and the life that it shares with the greater world outside it ?

We may speak of the English nation, as belonging to one division and all that falls outside the boundaries of the English nation to another ; and in so doing we may come to picture these several departments as though they were stereotyped and therefore still. But, on the contrary, pieces from either side are ever passing ; and their several constituents, from material objects without life, upwards through the dumb animals to man himself, are ever moving across the line ; the subtle force

of thought, moreover, defying all barriers, flashing backwards and forwards, and ranging far and wide over the entire world ; for

“ Nimble thought can jump both sea and land.”

And it is plain that the triumphs of physical science are everywhere promoting interchange of thought and community of life.

In the course of the last hundred years Protection has been compelled to give way to Free Trade ; the Open Door may be said to be almost the symbol of modern conditions ; and men go in and out to find pasture.

There is scarcely a department of life within the nation but transgresses its boundary lines for purposes of its own ; the Fellows of the Royal Society in England cross the water in order to confer with their brethren in France, and their brethren return the call ; we have the International Scientific Congress and the Universal Exhibition.

II.

Because the English people, then, have come so far to recognise their own dependence upon others and the dependence of others upon themselves, has the nation or the national spirit ceased to be ? This would be the inevitable outcome if the notion that all men were equal and indifferent at the outset were a truth, and not a gravely misleading fallacy as we have seen it to be.

An individual lives on condition that he drinks into himself the air around him, and he dies the moment he shuts it out ; absolute isolation or independence being the death of him. And so, again, it is by entering into the social life around him and not by abstaining from it that he realises his own individuality ; that is, goes in and out among his fellows and then falls back upon himself ; and this, because he “ grows out of his own roots,” or, to change the figure, revolves round his own centre.

And so with nations and still more so with races ; their

original distinctions are indelible, being the outcome of that various distribution of power, which shapes itself into bias, witnessing everywhere to the fact of an inequality from which there is no escape, and having a tendency to become more not less pronounced with the advance of time.

From this it follows that the national idea is likely for the most part to take care of itself, and nations as such to constitute divisions certainly but not necessarily to fall into opposing camps within the higher unity and the wider circle of One Catholic and Apostolic Church.

In any case, it is the Catholic and not the national idea that requires guarding ; and of all hindrances to the cause of Reunion, none perhaps is more serious than the suspicion on the part of a nation that it is impossible for its subjects to be loyal at once to itself and to some centre outside itself.

III.

With a section, but a diminishing section, I think, of the English people the term "Popery" signifies idolatry, and the pomp and outward circumstance of ceremonial ; the personality and office of Leo XIII. scarcely falling within the range of its vision. The term is so far a misnomer, for the Eastern is even more extreme than the Western Church upon such questions as Transubstantiation, and devotion to the Blessed Virgin. But with the majority of the English people "Popery" signifies a special and peculiar distribution of power ; the exercise within the nation itself of an authority that has its centre outside ; and with the recollection still strong upon them of the manner in which this power was exercised and abused from time to time in the past they are apt too easily to forget the vast debt that the whole course of civilisation owes to the Holy See. To free subjects from their allegiance is a dangerous policy, of course ; but why is it wrong for the Pope to do it if it is right for Henry VIII. ? Alluding to this grave abuse of power in the reign of the latter, Hallam writes : "Many of

that body (the Clergy) were staggered at the unexpected introduction of a title that seemed to strike at the supremacy they had always acknowledged in the Roman See." I am convinced that this entire question is now passing through a process of restatement which will clear the controversial atmosphere and place us eventually in happier relations with the Holy See; and all that is needed in the earlier stages of what must prove an extended process, is freedom of discussion and "an infinite capacity for taking pains," in order to bring our minds into a more consistent shape and ourselves into closer proximity to the whole Church in the West. Men cannot continue for ever to think it right that Sir Thomas More and Fisher should have been put to death in the reign of Henry VIII., and yet wrong that the same treatment should have been meted out to Cranmer and Ridley in the reign of Mary. Their minds cannot continue to shrink from the fires kindled for Protestants at Smithfield, without also recalling with horror the hangings of Catholics and other enormities at Tyburn and on Tower Hill. It will not content them to continue dwelling upon the abuses of the Middle Ages—merely upon their ecclesiastical side; or to talk vaguely of Rome's intolerance, while forgetting the long period of the Penal Laws in England.¹

They cannot for ever continue to think that if Father Damien died for the lepers at Molokai, and the Roman Sisters bravely refused to leave Mafeking, it was in spite of their religion and not in consequence of it. They cannot in justice continue to think of the invasion of England by the Spanish Armada without also recalling the splendid loyalty of English Roman Catholics who rushed with one accord to their country's standard to fight against it.

On the whole, then, I think this question of loyalty is the

¹ "Persecution," writes Hallam, "is the deadly original sin of the reformed Churches; that which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause, in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive" (*Const. Hist.*, i. 95).

one that appeals with most force to Englishmen everywhere ; and that we shall have taken one step and a very important step towards Reunion if we can convince them that loyalty to the Holy See, if it should come to be more extensively recognised in England than at present, will be found to be in no sense incompatible with general loyalty to our Sovereign and nation.

Meantime our Roman brethren may surely be allowed to learn by mistakes as well as ourselves. We know, if we come to think steadily of it, that they are Englishmen to the backbone like ourselves ; that they desire, equally with us, to promote genuine education upon equitable principles ; and that they are as proud of their country and as willing to fight for it as any Protestant can be.

However, the question has to be looked at from the point of view of fact and of principle, and I shall go on to view it in this light.

IV.

As to the fact of loyalty I will select what will, I think, be accepted as a test case ; I refer to the occasion of the Spanish Armada, to which allusion has been already made. But first we must make some effort to picture the circumstances of that period.

The point of time itself—1588—is full of significance ; and if at any time the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics in this country was subjected to the severest strain and put to the fullest test, it was then ; and a loyalty that could survive that would survive any test.

Less than thirty years before, Convocation had met and drawn up articles embodying the ancient faith on such momentous matters as the Supremacy of the Holy See, and the doctrine of the Mass ; a few months later the Act of Uniformity had been rushed through the House ; and, to quote the language of Parkhurst to his friend Bullinger at Zurich, “the Pope was again driven out of England, to the great regret of the Bishops and the whole tribe of Shavelings ;” and

the Archbishop of York, in his place in Parliament, had characterised this step in language the force of which cannot be evaded ; for “by relinquishing and forsaking the See of Rome,” he protested that we were forsaking and flying from “all general councils ; all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ ; . . . and by leaping out of Peter’s ship, were hazarding ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisms, sects, and divisions.”

Surely, then, it would have been in the years immediately following upon these that our Roman brethren would have been tempted, if ever, to indulge in resentment and reprisals, and to forget their duty to their Queen and country.

But what was the fact ?

“The English Catholics,” writes Creasy, “proved themselves as loyal to their Queen and true to their country as were the most vehement Anti-Catholic zealots in the Island. Some few traitors there were ; but as a body the Englishmen who held the ancient faith stood the trial of their patriotism nobly. The Lord Admiral himself was a Catholic, and (to adopt the words of Hallam) then it was that ‘the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the Lord-Lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself.’” But this, it may be said, was before the Vatican Council ; and the Definition of Infallibility of 1870 had not then been passed. But have there been no illustrations of this since that point of time ? There are many Roman Catholics in America, and Spain is a Roman Catholic country ; was there any suspicion for a moment of the loyalty of these two peoples to their respective civil governments and at the same time also to their common spiritual centre in the Holy See outside ?

The Duke of Norfolk is the first nobleman in the land, and an ardent Roman Catholic. Is there a sane person in England or throughout the Empire who doubts for a moment his loyalty to his King and country and at the same time also his loyalty to the Apostolic See ? Did he not volunteer for the Front and

fight for his country in South Africa, and within a few months after quit the shores of his own land, place himself at the head of an English pilgrimage to Rome, and do homage as well as present an address to Leo XIII. ?

It would be easy to multiply instances, but I shall content myself here with a quotation from a letter by Mr. W. S. Lilly, a well-known author in this country, and the secretary at the present time and for many years past of the Catholic Union of Great Britain. Writing in the *Times* newspaper in January, 1900, at a point of time when anxiety in this country was at its height, reverse after reverse in South Africa having stirred the heart of the nation to its very depths, Mr. Lilly said, "What no man who loves his country can doubt is, that in the present crisis of England's fate the obligations of party should be utterly subordinated to the obligation of patriotism."

It would be easy to pursue this ; we may go to the House of Lords and find Roman Catholic Peers there ; or we may turn to the bench of Roman Catholic Bishops ; or again we may consider ardent Radicals in politics like the late Mr. Costelloe, one of the candidates for Chelsea ; it is the same everywhere. The Irish people and therefore members have their national grievance, but it must not be confused with their religion ; and the greatest of their leaders was in fact a Protestant. Everywhere it is recognised by our Roman brethren that the question of their duty to God and their duty to Cæsar is not a question of alternatives but of adjustment ; according to the spirit of our Lord's own words : "Render, therefore, unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's."

V.

But it is important to show that such instances as I have given are based not upon expediency but upon definite principle. In this connexion it was, no doubt, seriously believed, not merely by Protestants but by some Roman Catholics also,

at the time of the Vatican Council in 1870, that the Definition of Infallibility would be found seriously to endanger the civil allegiance of those directly affected by it. And Mr. Gladstone gave expression to it in his famous pamphlet, *The Council of the Vatican in its Bearings on Civil Allegiance*. That so distinguished a statesman and one of such evident sincerity should have been so genuinely alarmed by the Definition and yet so surely mistaken, as with characteristic generosity he afterwards acknowledged himself to have been, constitute an experience of special value to the advocate for Reunion. The answers, alike of Newman and Manning, to this pamphlet should satisfy any open-minded reader that the loyalty of Roman Catholics is as secure since the Vatican Council as it certainly was before it.

“My first answer,” wrote Manning, “to the charge that the Vatican Council has made it impossible for Catholics to render a loyal Civil Allegiance is that the Vatican Council has not touched our Civil Allegiance at all; that the laws which govern our Civil Allegiance are as old as the revelation of Christianity, and are regulated by the Divine Constitution of the Church and the immutable duties of natural morality. We were bound by all these obligations before the Vatican Council existed. They are of Divine institution, and are beyond all change, being in themselves unchangeable.” And Newman speaks in the same sense when he says that the civil power is “a power which as truly comes from God as his (the Pope’s) own does, though diverse as the Church is invariable.”

Thus Catholic teaching on this point declares civil authority to be from God, and that the holder of it has a right, therefore, to the respect and obedience of his subjects, as being the representative of God to them.

But over and beyond the incidental evidence of historical fact and the permanent witness of Catholic teaching we have to-day before our eyes a plain and continuous exhibition of loyalty on the part of those many thousands of Roman Catholics who live and worship in this land to convince every

candid mind that their allegiance to their temporal sovereign is not merely secure but even conspicuous.

VI.

In the year 1902, when the question of the religious associations was vexing the minds of the French clergy, Leo XIII. addressed them in the following words :—

“The priest should hold himself aloof from and above all Parties, on account of the purely spiritual mission he has received from God. In his quality of citizen he possesses the right—and it is his duty—to vote for the candidate who appears to him to be most capable of serving the religious and patriotic interests of his country ; but, as often-repeated experience has demonstrated that whenever the clergy place their influence at the service of a political group they draw reprisals on themselves, they will this time act more prudently in joining no Party or Parliamentary group. At the present hour the programme of the French priests should consist in being loyally and frankly Republican, without any special denomination. For these reasons counsel your priests, I do not say to disinterest themselves from the electoral struggle, but to participate in it only in their quality of private citizens, and always with the reserve and discretion commanded by their sacred office. It is necessary that after the battle the priest should be classed neither among the victors nor among the vanquished. He must remain for all his parishioners the beloved and venerated pastor, who is consulted in difficult moments, the tender father who consoles in hours of grief and mourning, and the devoted friend, who is always ready to render a service.”

VII.

The earth revolves round its own axis or centre ; does it therefore cease to revolve also round its central sun ? And so

a National Church does not therefore cease to revolve round its own centre because it revolves, if it so be, round the Holy See.

If, then, it be God's will, that in the course of time we should as a nation melt, however gradually, into the Catholic sphere, it will then appear as ridiculous to say: Do you belong to the Catholic Church or to the English Church?—as to ask: Does our earth revolve round its own axis or round the sun? The question being, *ex hypothesi*, a question not of alternatives but of adjustment.

SECTION IV.—*A House Divided against Itself.*

In calling attention to some of the more painful contradictions within the Anglican Communion itself I must not be supposed to do so in any spirit of disloyalty to our spiritual rulers. They have to share with ourselves the difficulties of our case; and in seeking for a remedy it is easier for the laity or the inferior clergy to give the first impulse.

This has been the history of the Oxford Movement from the first; and the part of our Bishops has been to recognise, control and guide rather than to take the initiative.

No, it is the character of our formularies and the setting of isolation in which they find themselves that lies at the root of the mischief.

If the desire on the part of our Reformers to simplify our Services was genuine, the experience of three hundred years has proved their failure in this direction to have been complete. But the reason of this failure lies deeper still. It is not enough merely to say that they attempted what they could not achieve; the movement itself was complex and full of compromise; nor can it be said to have attained a genuine settlement. And the Reunion conferences which have been held in recent times have made it evident that in regard to differences within the Church of England herself, as well as in regard to points which separate her from those outside, it is

fundamental questions and first principles that divide us one from another.

On one side it is assumed that the Anglican Communion is a whole and not a part; that the Book of Common Prayer is adequate in itself, and therefore that omission is prohibition. On the other side the Church in England is recognised as a part of a much greater whole; and the liturgy is viewed and interpreted in the light of "Catholic tradition."

Men are apt to speak lightly of "going by the Prayer Book," as if its rubrics and directions were sufficiently precise and exhaustive to bring us all into line, whereas the case is notoriously otherwise.

I have already shown what conspicuous leaders on the Roman and the Nonconformist, as well as on our own side, have to declare as to the "Popish" character of our formularies; and the great body of Evangelical Churchmen within our own Communion are equally urgent on the other side.

How are we to account for these contradictions? The question is one of proportion; and if we are right in saying that according to the plain teaching of our Lord and of His Apostles the whole Church is intended to occupy the first place in our minds and its parts are intended to come second, those would appear to adopt the right course who ask what the general practice elsewhere may be and then straightway proceed to adopt the same course in England, except where the express language of our formularies plainly precludes this. Some questions there are, of course, which at present defy settlement; but it is not so with others.

Is the Holy Eucharist, for instance, to be recognised as the central Service of the Christian Church, and, more particularly, as the chief service of every Sunday? Are the faithful to be away from this service unless they are prepared there and then to communicate? Or is it their duty as well as privilege to be present every Lord's Day, whether they communicate or not?

Such questions are not mere questions of arrangement;

and from the standpoint of Reunion and of that assumption or rather fact that lies at the root of Reunion, namely that our Lord meant us to be one, I should myself answer at once, and base my teaching upon the answer, that since everywhere else this service is recognised as a service of obligation on Sunday we must so regard it here also. And so with the deeper questions which underlie this practice, questions of the Priesthood and of the Sacrifice; to suppress these truths or, what is far worse, to contradict them, is to go against the whole current of teaching in the East and West alike; and our profession of belief in a Church that is one as well as Catholic plainly precludes such an attitude.

II.

It should be remembered that our Lord Himself has expressly prescribed the proper motive of all efforts towards Reunion:—"That the world may believe;" and experience teaches that all unhappy divisions even before they reach the acute stage of separation and schism have a tendency as such to unsettle our faith.

The multitude of people live upon the maxims of the society in which they move; such maxims forming the constituents of an atmosphere which they are ever imbibing into themselves. And if everything is to be questioned on all sides of them, and they find themselves tossed backwards and forwards like a ball from one teacher to another, there may still be some who will be braced by such a climate, but it will prove too strong for the majority. Thus the necessity, at the present time, of finding some security for our teaching imposes upon every one of us the duty of strenuously following up this question.

III.

The circumstances of our own time must be realised if we are to appreciate our difficulties. It is sometimes said that

we should be slow in making changes and lead our people gradually from one step to the next. And this, of course, is true ; but it does not meet our case.

Owing to modern inventions movement has become so rapid that a considerable proportion of our people are constantly passing from one centre to another without continuing for any length of time in one stay. Now, if this passage introduces them to new teachers, belonging to the same Communion, but holding and teaching doctrines which are diametrically opposed to what they have been hitherto accustomed to hear, unsettlement of mind must inevitably follow. It would be otherwise, of course, if there were unanimous agreement among all teachers in the Anglican Communion ; under such circumstances the elementary principle, line upon line, and precept upon precept, would be universally pursued, bringing all minds at length not to unanimity, which obtains nowhere, but to one and the same level of substantial agreement throughout. And the principle of our people being thus established in the truth is expressly recognised in Holy Scripture.

It may be said that within one and the same parish the principle of continuity is more generally recognised now than formerly ; more care being taken that the stream of instruction should not be turned back in its channel. This so far represents an advance upon the past ; but it does not meet the difficulty of a moving population to which I have alluded, and even where a population is almost stationary the outcome, on the whole, must be the co-existence within one and the same Communion of Gospels that are at once stereotyped and contradictory. Nor is this all that can or ought to be said on this subject. In densely populated districts, perhaps in a majority of cases, certainly in a great many, it is not the parishioners only who compose the congregation. On the contrary, members come to it from various parts. In country districts, on the other hand, the outward adornments of the Church may be improved, but I do not think it will be found

that what is known as Catholic teaching is so general as it is sometimes imagined. It is represented, and there is, of course, much to be said for it, that there is but the one Church and that it is a mistake to alienate people, and that we must lead them gradually, and so forth ; but does the parish priest teach his people that he is a priest ? Does he teach them to worship at the Holy Eucharist ? Does he bid them go to Confession ? I am anxious to face facts in order that we may become alive to the necessity of a larger measure of agreement ; and I say to a very large extent what is characteristic in Catholic teaching is simply away—and in many cases it is away because it is thought wiser not to urge it. But will any one say when it is to be urged ? I think the special danger of our case is that men are tempted quietly to put doctrine on one side ; to preach practical sermons, and to win the hearts of their people by working hard for them, and these two are great duties, of course ; but is not the doctrine a duty also ? I think, then, here as elsewhere, a centre of gravity is plainly needed ; and it will be a gain so far if, by steadily contemplating actual instances, we come to recognise that the apparatus of the Church of England is plainly out of order and calls loudly for repair.

IV.

1. At a large diocesan meeting of some seven hundred people, an incumbent of one of the parishes, who had brought a large number of workers with him, expostulated with me, after my address, in a tone of courtesy and kindness, but also of evident distress.

“It is hard,” he said, “I think, that when I have been labouring for years to teach my people that there is no such thing as an Altar they should be compelled to listen to such allusions in your lecture.” I could only say how grieved I was and how hard I also felt it, not only for his people but also for myself, that it should be impossible to allude to the

chief ornament of the Church without giving distress in one direction or another.

2. Another instance I will adduce is that of a correspondent to whom I have never spoken, but who kindly wrote to me upon the subject of her own perplexities, and who allows me to incorporate her words with this section of my chapter. She is a lady of education, who has been studying the more difficult aspects of this question for some years.

She writes : "What we are taught in —, or rather not taught but left to infer, is not at all the same Gospel as I hear in London from such men as Canon —, for instance, to whose Catholic teaching I owe much. What Canon — teaches as absolute primitive truth of the greatest importance, our Vicar and many like him utterly deny, and do not believe in any Sacramental Grace at all. Which am I to believe? Canon — or the Vicar? The latter says, 'Don't believe either of us; take your Bible and find the truth there.' Well,—in the Bible I see quite plainly the truth of the Real Presence . . . also the Sacrament of Confession and Absolution—the ministry of reconciliation, but the Vicar says, 'No, that is not truth at all.' I ask perhaps half a dozen Roman Catholic priests what is their faith on certain doctrines—they every one tell me to a hair's breadth exactly the very same thing, though they may be men who do not know one another, and they say : 'This is not my opinion, it is the teaching of the Church, and therefore I must and do believe it, and so ought all men to do.' There must be truth somewhere, and the same Holy Spirit cannot possibly teach one good man one doctrine, and another something widely divergent and even quite contrary to it. . . . I cannot but think that the Anglican Church at large must come to see all this before long, and very clearly too."

Again :—"For the last three and a half years my mind has been much disturbed on the question of the Church's position and authority, and certainly all the disputes and divisions among us do not tend to reassure a mind that is perplexed. . . . It seems to me there must be a Visible Head

and Centre of Unity, or true Unity is an impossibility, and we may each believe just as much or as little as we care to. . . . I trust that I am not unduly occupying your time if I tell you that I have several times during the last year at least been on the point of asking to be received into the Roman Church, —not at all because I am attracted by its ceremonial, or because I can receive all its dogmas, but simply because I see there is and must be a Divine voice to guide us left in the world, and where is that voice? Where is the Head? How can we have any certainty what is truth? For different bishops and clergy in the Anglican Church certainly teach widely differing 'views.' ”

Now, let any one contemplate this as a psychological study. It is a fair type to exhibit, being not the writing of a young woman, nor the language of excitement, but the deliberate utterance of an anxious and educated heart and mind.

How was I to treat this case? My answer was: “Nothing justifies secession except a profound belief that the salvation of your soul depends upon it.” I also sent notes of practical meditations.

Her reply was: “I don't think I could truly say I was quite sure, and should certainly not take the step unless I had not the shade of a doubt that it was absolutely right and the will of God. . . . May God, in His own time, bring His whole Church into the fuller light which I cannot but believe the Anglican Church has to a great extent lost. . . .”

I continued to send outlines of meditations on the Gospels, avoiding all controversy and comment; until at length, after four months and a half, I received a letter saying: “I feel now that I ought to write to you and tell you that these last weeks I have been carefully following your advice and giving myself much to devotion, but really the more I thought and prayed the more . . . I felt as if the time had come when God said to me, ‘Must,’ as you expressed it to me in your first letter to me, . . . so that I have to tell you that last week I was received into the Catholic Church. . . . I trust that . . .

you will not . . . think I should have waited, . . . but my conscience was so deeply troubled and my physical strength also much exhausted by such a long struggle. . . . I feel, of course, deeply grateful for all the blessings and graces I have received in the Anglican Church, which must ever be most dear to me, as well as all those who faithfully minister in her, but for myself, I felt unable to remain where truths are constantly being contested and I never could be sure what really was truth and the whole truth."

Now, I have quoted these words, not, of course, without the express permission of my correspondent, because I think they will appear the more weighty from the fact that they were not originally intended for publication ; and, I may add, because there is a reverence and sense of responsibility about them and an entire absence of that flippant and, I must add, deplorable tone which escapes from some who take this step, a tone which is as odious to our Roman brethren as it certainly is to us. In such cases it is not difficult to foresee that ultimate loss of all faith of which we sometimes subsequently hear.

3. The third instance I shall adduce appears in a book to which allusion has already been made (*The Gift of the Keys*). Mr. Everest is an Honorary Canon of Truro, and was ordained as far back as 1841. The earnestness and straightforwardness of the writer are manifest on every page, and his experience, which is the result of long years of ministerial life, finds expression in deliberate words that should, I think, be carefully weighed.

In the course of some remarks upon Modern Liberalism the author writes : "Compromising words are spoken and compromising acts are done" (in relation to Dissent, he means), "and that, too, by those in high places ; and provided that there is a consensus of approval on the part of the Secular Press and the Dissenting bodies, those who speak and act in this way think that they are disarming the Church's enemies, and adding to its days as an Establishment. But it is little considered

how this . . . affects and grieves, and enters like iron into the soul of many of those who are within the fold, who are spending and being spent in the Church's service. Many a laborious and faithful priest returns to his vicarage from his pastoral work with a desponding and aching heart, 'What an unreality it all is ! What is the use of all my teaching, and all my efforts to bring back the wanderers into the fold, when as often as not they are able to cast my own Bishop's words and acts, and those of some of my fellow-clergy, in my teeth ? ' "

I understand Mr. Everest to be speaking generally and not in any personal sense ; and as regards my own Bishop I have received nothing but kindness and sympathy ; but, as regards the general drift of what Mr. Everest says, I believe him to be entirely right ; and after watching the spirit of liberalism in our own Communion and the working of Undenominationalism everywhere, over a course of twenty years, I do not hesitate to express my own deliberate conviction that it is responsible more than any other single cause that can be named for the despondency and deadness in their work that overtakes some of our clergy, and, worse than all, for that unbelief on the part of not a few of our people and that indifference on the part of many more which we are apt so often to lament without being at the pains to analyse.

V.

I do not wish to be understood as implying that no scope should be left for discrimination. A more or less wide margin for this there must ever be, at the least as regards the application of truth. No, this is not the difficulty before us. It is the insecurity of our teaching arising out of the absence of that unity which is expressly prescribed by our Lord as the remedy for unbelief ;—"That the world may believe."

On these grounds I consider that Conferences on Reunion present themselves no longer merely as a wise but also as a

necessary step; and they are, I think, to be welcomed as supplying evidence of the revival in our midst of the true instinct of unity.

That Christians belonging to the same Communion, when they meet together, should be compelled to choose between the alternatives of being either silent or shocking is an anomaly in which we ought not to acquiesce. And the difficulty before us is not peculiar to the present moment; it has forced its way to the front whenever the Church of this country has been stirred into life. And simply to confine ourselves to the past seventy years—the period of the Oxford Movement,—it is conspicuous in the life and teaching of all the principal leaders: of Keble, of Newman, of Pusey, of Manning, and of Liddon.

In 1837 we find Newman writing to Manning: “Some one here is writing against Keble’s sermon. Pusey is in the thick of a hailstorm. Really it is astonishing hitherto how well I have escaped. My turn will come.” Manning, writing in 1846, says: “Our divisions seem to me to be fatal as a token, and as a disease. If division do not unchurch us it will waste us away.” And in the same year: “I cannot conceal from myself that the mass of the Church would almost disown me. A large body certainly would.”

And in writing to Robert Wilberforce in 1848: “Again, as you say, it will be a comfort to you to get your mind and belief fully expressed. But I feel it almost a point of truthfulness to say I cannot go on with any reserve. Truth is a trust to be laid out and accounted for, and time is spending fast. Moreover, people believe us to be what we are not, and are disbelieving truths we hold to be sacred, because we hold them in silence, which is a kind of unrighteousness.”

And the next year: “I have tried to hold my peace, to lose myself in work, to take in other subjects which I dearly love and delight in, but all in vain.”

“Protestantism is not so much a rival system, which I reject, but no system, a chaos, a wreck of fragments without idea, principle, or life. . . . Anglicanism seems to me to be

in essence the same, only elevated, constructed, and adorned by intellect, social and political order, and the fascinations of a national and domestic history."

And the next year, 1850: "Be our paper doctrines what they may, we have had contradictory bishops, priests, and people for 300 years on baptism, the real presence, the sacrifice, absolution, succession, priesthood, rule of faith, the very constitution, and authority and identity of the Church."

Now, in regard to the above I think we have moved somewhat but not as much as we believe. I wish to speak with precision. But does our Catholic teaching keep pace with our Church restoration? In many parts of the country, is not the way to succeed—to hold things in reserve; to say, "It would never do in a place of this kind;"—to declare that what the people require is plain, practical sermons?

We are apt to forget that philanthropists who know not or refuse to own Christ can and do work hard for their fellows. Our position is more than this; we claim to bring along with us a message, and to announce it; and to bid men believe it, or be prepared to lose their souls.

"I can well remember," said Manning, a few years before his death—"I can well remember how at the outset of my life as a pastor . . . the necessity of a divine commission forced itself upon me; next how the necessity of a divine certainty for the message I had to deliver became, if possible, more evident: . . . a human or fallible message, by a messenger having a divine commission, would be the source of error, illusion, and all evil. I then perceived the principle of Christian tradition as an evidence of the Truth, and of the visible Unity of the Church as the guarantee of that tradition. . . ."

"What was it he said afterwards?" asks Charles Reding; "I recollect; that the Catholic Church was in ruins, had broken to pieces. What a paradox! Who'll believe that but he? . . . But all this is because the Bishops won't interfere; one can't say it, that's the worst, but they are at the

bottom of the evil. They have but to put out their little finger and enforce the Rubrics, and then the whole controversy would be at an end. . . ." And again: "I protest to you, and you may think with what distress I say it, that if the Church of Rome is as ambiguous as our own Church, I shall be in the way to become a sceptic, on the very ground that I shall have no competent authority to tell me what to believe. The Ethiopian said, 'How can I know, unless some man do teach me?' and St. Paul says, 'Faith cometh by hearing.' If no one claims my faith, how can I exercise it? At least I shall run the risk of becoming a Latitudinarian; for if I go by Scripture only, certainly there is no Creed in Scripture."

I quote the words about the Bishops not as being myself in agreement with them; I feel assured that neither Bishops nor clergy can remedy the evil until Conferences have introduced a larger measure of unity in our midst.

But in this instance we know how Newman had viewed the situation in the early days of the Tractarian Movement.

And so again, a few years later, Bishop Ives wrote: "For many years I have been more or less doubtful of my position . . . and feeling about me for surer ground on which to stand in view of a judgment to come."

In 1874 Liddon wrote: "We of the English Church are already unable to assert before Christendom that we practically hold even serious doctrinal differences to be a bar to religious Communion. We co-operate with those who deny that which we deem true, or assert that which we deem false." And six years later Pusey writes: "It is said to be an anachronism that clergymen should think themselves bound to cease to minister in the Church of England because they no longer hold those blessed truths" (the Incarnation and other central articles).

Now I am anxious to make this as vivid as I can in order to bring emphasis to bear upon the question, especially in view of Conferences that are yet to come.

It is the fashion with not a few in our midst first to dissemble these difficulties, and next to accuse those of disloyalty

who advocate Reunion. But what I desiderate is quite a distinct frame of mind from what is understood as impatience; my position throughout is that we should probe to the very heart and centre of the problem in order to find its solution; and not attempt to bring in the witness of our activities in order to condone our contradictions.

I am calling attention to a mark that is scored deep into the Oxford Movement from start to finish; it is not to be imputed and restricted to one leader rather than another, it bears witness to a great evil and calls aloud for an adequate remedy.

There are laymen in our Communion who have been taught over a course of years that the Holy Eucharist is the central service of the Church and of every Sunday; and that it is their duty to be present at that service whether they communicate or not. On the strength of such teaching they have come themselves and brought their own children Sunday by Sunday; when after some time has elapsed they suddenly find the whole subject brought up again for debate and thrown into the crucible of controversy; and some of the very teachers, who at least are understood to identify themselves with the position, suggesting that a discussion of the subject in the papers would be interesting; and, more than this, advice at this point has been given to the younger clergy to fall back again upon the old lines, which I understand to mean once more reinstating the choir office of Matins in a central instead of in a subordinate position.

Now, perhaps I may say it, I have had some little experience in the practice and theory of teaching, and I declare that if I could allow myself to entertain the notion, so awfully wicked and devilish, of unsettling another man's faith, I should faithfully pursue that very course. I should plant the ladder of dogma firmly against the house of the Church and bid him climb steadily up from rung to rung until he had attained to the high level of the Catholic position. Meantime, I should make my way within the house to the highest room,

and meet him when he reached the top with a frightful blow full in his face and send him reeling to the ground again. Can we be surprised if our laity roar for the very disquietness of their hearts and turn upon us in fury?

Now in regard to all this, it is understood, of course, that Rome has the defects of her qualities: that in the general exercise of her discipline, and more particularly sometimes in her excommunications, she appears to bear with a heavy hand upon her children; nevertheless, after making every allowance for this, there is no denying what we have lost as regards the security of teaching, by our separation from the Holy See; however, the blame for that separation is to be apportioned. That controversies after running a long course do come to a termination where that See is recognised as a centre and fail so to do when she is not recognised appears to me a fact of history.

Why should not that See again be to us what once she was? In the earliest days of the Church she was formally described as the "Guardian of the Vine," or as the "Church which presides;" or as the Church which at that time "had so recently received the tradition from the Apostles;" and in later times it was this Church of which St. Bernard (A.D. 1153) wrote: "I think it right that the wounds of faith should there, in the first place, be healed where faith can have no defect."

SECTION V.—*Theological and Physical Science.*

Another illustration of this subject presents itself in the division between Theological and Physical Science. Here is evidently what may be termed a division of labour, but one which, during the century that has just run out, threatened to become an unhappy and at one time even a disastrous division. For the last ten or fifteen years the sky has gradually been clearing, and the process of Reunion has been silently and therefore the more surely going forward.

The question comes within the scope of this Essay, because in the event of Reunion with the Holy See, however distant that Reunion may be, the decisions of the Roman authorities and the principles upon which these decisions are based would become a matter of vital interest to ourselves as to others.

I.

Before going on to speak of the parallel between the two great movements of the last century, I will venture to adopt, or propose, as the case may be, certain provisional definitions which may so far serve to clear the ground.

SCIENCE IS SYSTEMATISED KNOWLEDGE.

PHYSICAL SCIENCE

is

SYSTEMATISED

KNOWLEDGE

of

PHENOMENA.

THEOLOGICAL

SCIENCE

is

SYSTEMATISED

KNOWLEDGE

of

GOD.

ITS RANGE.

Phenomena.

ITS RANGE.

Things Visible and Invisible
as they are related to final
causes.

ITS AIM.

To resolve the complexity
of phenomena into simple ele-
ments and principles.

ITS AIM.

The restoration in man of
the image of the invisible God;
and the interpretation of life
through the medium of a divine
society.

ITS LIMITATION.

Not concerned, as such, with
final causes.

ITS LIMITATION.

Concerned as such with the
Deposit of Faith and the govern-
ment and regulation of the
Church.

Thus if, according to the usual course, the several sciences are to be understood as representing so many various aspects of nature, they may in turn be represented by a series of concentric circles; theological science being represented by the outer circle, all other sciences whatsoever being represented as so many circles that fall within.

Nothing obviously can fall outside the sphere devoted to the knowledge of God.

The great fact of solidarity requires that all established results in any one science or department of science shall be made known to the rest, and, so far as may be, referred to their proper place within the whole structure of knowledge.

Each department is presided over and energetically handled by beings that are human, and the division of labour becomes an unhappy division only when one department denies the demonstrated results of the others, mistaking itself which is but a part for the entire circle of knowledge which represents the whole.

Every new discovery belonging to the inner circles or sciences will be found to illustrate the science of theology and to fertilise and enrich its soil; and it is the part of theology in its turn to watch every hypothesis belonging to other departments and to follow it with interest until it passes out of the hypothetical stage into the light of established truth; at which stage the further necessity will arise of (1) Recognising it as a part of truth, (2) Viewing it in relation to the existing structure of theological knowledge, (3) Finally referring it, if possible, to its proper context within the theological setting.

I say, if possible, because it may be necessary to hold two truths side by side, truths which appear to us incompatible, but which in the fuller light of a later knowledge and of another day may come to be duly related and harmonised. That two truths belonging to two respective departments cannot be reconciled here and now is no necessary proof that this can never be. And, on the other hand, a careful distinction has to be observed between hypotheses, however

specious, and demonstrated results. I have made some further allusion to this in another chapter ; meantime, I am not proposing to myself the ambitious and, at this time, unnecessary task of attempting to reconcile the respective truths of physical and theological science. This work, so far as it was necessary to attempt it, has been achieved for us by great thinkers, such as Newman, James Mozley, and in more recent times by Aubrey Moore. The question as to whether either of these sciences has been destroyed by the other will find its best answer in the fact that both alike are before us and are very much alive ; and that for greatness and distinction in their several exponents it would be easy from either side to produce names, man for man, equal to any that could be produced from the other.

This is the most eloquent form that reconciliation can take.

But it may be interesting to set down a few parallels that have appealed to my own mind, and a few principles which experience has taught us in regard to what may be called the great double movement of the last century ; and thereby incidentally, if not directly, to show how it is that we have come into more or less still waters after passing through stormy seas.

II.

The parallel movements in the respective planes of Theological and Physical Science constitute an interesting illustration of a saying of James Mozley, that no one idea is allowed to have the ground entirely to itself in any age. And, as I have elsewhere said, John Henry Newman appears to occupy the same position, so far, in relation to Theological as Charles Darwin does to Physical Science.

Both were men of extraordinary power, lovable in character and devoted to truth ; and it is interesting to remember that Newman's mind was running upon developments "many years

before the scientific conception of Biological evolution had been explained and illustrated by Darwin and Wallace."

Thus development is, I think, the characteristic note in each case; Newman giving us his variations upon the Theological organ, and Darwin upon the organ of Physical Science; unsettlement being the immediate result in both cases.

To deny the doctrine of special creations seemed at first sight like an attack upon the doctrine of creation as such; and until men were able to open their minds to the conception of a wider teleology, it appeared as though the doctrines respectively of Evolution and Creation must represent antithetic and mutually exclusive ideas.

And so in the Ecclesiastical plane, the mere suggestion that the Oxford Movement would have for its ultimate outcome the reunion of the two Provinces of Canterbury and York with the Holy See, or, to put the same thought into a different shape, the prospect of Newman's conversion under the special circumstances of those days, seemed like the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole movement. What happened in the earlier days of the Evolution controversy has been vividly described for us by Stirling.

"As we all know," he writes, "all in England is done by parties and everything that appears in England is of no use whatever until it is made an affair of party. It was not different with the origin of species. Creation or Evolution became the party question of the day; and it was debated at a temperature that was perfectly suffocating. Lecture-rooms rang with the subject and not a periodical in the Kingdom but glowed red hot with it."¹

Furthermore, Darwinians were lightly and unthinkingly described as "Atheists," and language was freely used on both sides which it is not pleasant now to recall. So again in turning to the Ecclesiastical movement we find the same suffocating atmosphere at the outset, the same odious calling of names, the same tendency to panic, and the same progress in spite

¹ J. H. Stirling, *Darwinianism*: "Workmen and Work," p. 174.

of all. "Oxford heretics," "Jesuits in disguise," "Agents of Satan," "Snakes in the Grass," "Tamperers with Popish Idolatry," are only some of the opprobrious epithets applied, some sixty years ago, to the Tractarians.

Mr. Wilfrid Ward has pictured the scene in the Sheldonian Theatre for us, when his father delivered his famous speech at a Meeting of Convocation, of which Stanley wrote: "In that infuriated assembly, infuriated on both sides by the passions of the contending parties, action was the only course."

"The whole cycle of Roman doctrine" proved as intolerable at that time as the hypothesis of Evolution; the one being supposed to lead to sheer unbelief, and the other to nothing but an odious superstition.

When Robert Wilberforce received the first hint from Newman of his possible conversion his answer disclosed the emotion under which he was writing. "I don't think," he wrote, "that I ever was so shocked by any communication that was ever made to me, as by your letter." And the extent of this shock gives us, I think, a fair measure of the vastness of the revolution which was destined ultimately to result from Newman's momentous change.

Half a century has run out since the *Development of Doctrine* and the *Origin of Species* were elaborated; originators and champions alike—Newman and Ward, Darwin and Huxley—all have gone to their rest; but their influence survives in the shape of those principles to which they devoted their lives; and while none of us can see into the future, if it is true that the present is in one sense pregnant with its issues, a modified Darwinism seems likely to be the outcome in the one sphere and Reunion, ultimately, with the Holy See in the other.

III.

It would be interesting to pursue this parallel, and I will add one or two more instances for the benefit of those who may not have observed them:—

Darwin says, in his *Origin of Species* :—

“On my return home” (from his voyage on board H.M.S. *Beagle*) “it occurred to me, in 1837, that something might perhaps be made out of this question by patiently accumulating and reflecting on all sorts of facts which could possibly have any bearing on it. After five years’ work (1842) I allowed myself to speculate on the subject, and drew up some short notes; these I enlarged in 1844 into a sketch of the conclusions which then seemed to me probable. . . .”

A parallel is suggested also between the two champions in their relation to the respective movements, though not in their relation to their respective heads; William George Ward being, so far, to Newman what Huxley is to Darwin.

Ward had “no doubt whatever” about his own interpretation of Galatians ii. Any attempt, he said, to differ from it would “terminate in signal failure;” and we all remember what used sometimes to be called the “Vaticanism” of Huxley.

On the whole and having regard to the two leaders, Newman and Darwin may be said to have busied themselves with origins and developments; the former pursuing his research in the plane of spiritual and the latter in the plane of material phenomena.

The entire revelation was deposited by our Lord in the minds of the Apostles; there was the germinal word; and the development of this word declared itself from time to time in the subsequent announcements of the Church. Thus in speaking of the Papal Church and viewing it, as he says, with “secular eyes,” he writes :—“Our Lord seeing what would be brought about by human means, even had He not willed it, and recognising from the laws which He Himself had imposed upon

Newman writes in his *Apolo-
logia* :—

“Thus I am brought to the principle of development of doctrine in the Christian Church to which I gave my mind at the end of 1842. I had made mention of it in the passage, which I quoted many pages back, in *Home Thoughts Abroad*, published in 1836; and even at an earlier date I had introduced it into my history of the Arians in 1832. . . .

“In 1843 I began to consider it attentively. I had begun my essay on the *Development of Doctrine* in the beginning of 1845.”

human society that no large community could be strong which had no head, spoke the word in the beginning, as He did to Judah, 'Thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise,' and then left it to the course of events to fulfil." Is not this suggestive of the germ plasma in the physical sphere and its subsequent development and history? In each case at the outset we recognise existing facts and work back to their beginnings; finding ourselves at length, and by an effort of imagination, in the Apostolic Age in the one instance and "in the beginning"—in the other. But in either case the germ is hid from our eyes.

"The event which is the development," Newman says, "is also the interpretation of the prediction;" and Aubrey Moore, in speaking of Evolution, says that a creature is what it is capable of becoming. Newman is as interested in observing the several types of religious character and the various stages through which they pass on their way to their final manifestation as Darwin is in regard to animal types; and the seventh Chapter of the *Grammar of Assent* might well serve as the proper introduction to the study of comparative religion.

"It is conceivable," he writes, "that a man might travel in his religious profession all the way from heathenism to Catholicity, through Mahometanism, Judaism, Unitarianism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism without any one certitude lost but with a continual accumulation of truths. . . ."

IV.

One more parallel I am tempted to adduce, as suggestive of Newman's exquisite powers of insight.

The reality of unconscious cerebration is familiar to all of us; and if we place a passage from Newman side by side with one from Carpenter, the great Physiologist, how interesting each will appear in the light of the other; especially as I believe the discovery of this particular form of activity is generally associated with the name of the latter.

Carpenter writes, *Mental Physiology*, p. 156 :—

“Mental changes of whose results we subsequently become conscious may go on below the plane of consciousness, either during profound sleep, or while the attention is wholly engrossed by some entirely different train of thought.”

This was written in 1852.

Newman writes, *Loss and Gain*, pp. 202, 206 :—

“It is impossible to stop the growth of the mind. Here was Charles with his thoughts turned away from religious controversy for two years, yet with his religious views progressing, unknown to himself, the whole time. . . . What a mystery is the soul of man. Here was Charles, busy with Aristotle and Eurypides, and Lucretius, yet all the while growing towards the Church, ‘to the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ.’”

This was written in 1848.

V.

Now, over and beyond the interest of this parallel as such, it is easy, I think, to put one’s finger here upon a suggestive point.

The principle of development which is common to both spheres necessarily modifies, so far as we recognise and accept it, the appeal to antiquity. Although an infant contains within himself all his possibilities it is no easy matter at the outset to determine precisely what these are or how they will work out. But you come to know them better with the advance of time and as circumstances call them into play.

There is a sense, then, in which it is true that corporations, like individuals, may be said to be what they are capable of becoming, and we may know the meaning and purpose of their powers better as time goes on than we did at the outset. Their identity is preserved so long as their powers develop from within and no attempt is made to foist upon them forms of power which are foreign and from without. Thus in regard to a visible head the fact that there has been one who has

expressly claimed to be such in the Christian Church for at least 1500 years must influence our judgment when we are attempting to determine the general position of the Apostles and the particular relation of St. Peter to the rest. In other words, we must not shut ourselves up within the New Testament and require a complete picture in miniature of the Church as we see it now. A man puts forth his powers when they are called into play, and we are wont to exclaim that we shall now see what he is made of ; but until they are so elicited it is not easy thus to know him.

It is not, for instance, in England and the later centuries only, as we know, that appeals were made to Rome ; but whenever they were so made the inevitable effect was to extend the range of her interests, and to throw her back upon herself and upon her resources. A beggar comes to us in the street and asks for money ; we feel in our pockets to ascertain how much we have to give. He goes on to ask our advice as to his best route, and we feel in our minds after the knowledge which may guide him. The total result, perhaps, is that we know our mental and pecuniary resources now better than we did before. So it is easy, of course, to show that the Holy See apparently exercised no formal jurisdiction beyond a certain area at a given point of time, and easier still perhaps to show that from time to time attempts were made by those outside herself to restrict her within those limits. But it is also possible to show that as time went on appeals were made to her far beyond those limits, until the limits themselves gave way. Those who make these appeals declare that they must have some one to whom they can turn ; others who are jealous of the foreign court, whether for good or bad reasons, exclaim that it was at such and such a time that the " mischievous habit of making appeals " to Rome commenced.

But all alike are thrown back upon first principles and upon actual resources when everything around them is falling into confusion. And this is our case at the present. We are not impatient necessarily or despondent because we find ourselves

forced to reconsider the entire question of the government of the Church. We merely say God is not the author of what we see ; this confusion cannot properly belong to His original plan ; let us carefully examine that plan again. And since it is God's way to bring good out of evil if we will but wait upon His providence, it seems likely that the disorganised condition of the Church in England at the present moment may be destined to prepare the way for an altogether better order of things in the future.

In any case if we find the same difficulty in the interpretation of the Fathers, as we do in the interpretation of Scripture ; and if the difficulty is found to persist until we come to the conclusion that the fault may lie not in the text as such but in the attitude we adopt towards it, in the principle, that is, which guides us in our own interpretations—and this I think we do find ; one person arguing with his hand upon the text itself and the other viewing it through the various glasses composing the telescope of tradition—is it not natural to reconsider a formula, the working of which we have ample opportunity of observing on a large scale outside our own country and to an appreciable extent within ? And this we are especially encouraged to do when we find that St. Vincent of Lerins, himself the recognised champion of the “*Quod semper . . .*,” recognises a certain form of development ; that our own Bishop Butler appears also to do likewise ; and furthermore, and over and beyond all, that our Lord is constantly illustrating spiritual truths from what may be described as the sphere of natural science, and, more particularly, that He compares the life of the Church to the gradual spread of leaven and the gradual growth of a tree.

VI.

However this may be, we observe in these parallel movements a division of labour in regard to which, had it been left in the hands of the respective leaders, it is scarcely too much to say that there would have been few or no collisions.

Newman's forecast of the entire Agnostic movement so far as it was destined to adopt an aggressive attitude towards religion deserves, I think, to be more carefully read and studied than it hitherto has been. Meantime the guiding principle, with him, was that each department should have free scope so far as that might be possible, and that each should confine itself to its own proper line; and he even went so far as to utter a warning on the occasion of one of the earlier meetings of the British Association to the effect that if professors of physical science allowed themselves to begin by declaring their belief in the Almighty God as a conclusion from researches in their own department they would end by denying Him altogether; a forecast that was subsequently fulfilled in the days of controversy between 1860 and 1880—such a profession, he would have said, was *extra artem*; and this is, I imagine, the tacit understanding which underlies the deliberations of all such scientific assemblies at the present day. The systematic treatment of the question of final causes belongs to another department; it is only confusing the question, then, to introduce it in its wrong place. Certainly in the case of Charles Darwin we have his own word for it that he did not recognise in his own theory any contradiction of the central truth of all religion; and a quotation from Butler appears, as we know, on the first page of the *Origin*; and it is agreed that if later on he fell out of touch with dogmatic religion, although he preserved his kindliness of temper to the end, "Atrophy" is the word that best explains it; that is, that the division in his case became so far unhappy because his own department absorbed him quite. And when we turn to the other leader, we find that as far back as the year 1855, four years before the *Origin of Species* appeared, Newman deliberately laid down a philosophical position which every one can appreciate now: "Great minds need elbow room, not indeed in the domain of faith but of thought. And so indeed do lesser minds, and all minds. There are many persons in the world who are called, and with a great deal of truth, geniuses.

They have been gifted by nature with some particular faculty or capacity; and while vehemently excited and imperiously ruled by it, they are blind to everything else. They are enthusiasts in their own line, and are simply dead to the beauty of any kind except their own. Accordingly they think their own line the only line in the whole world worth pursuing, and they feel a sort of contempt for such studies as move upon any other line." This is what I have elsewhere called mistaking a part for the whole. Indeed, one secret of a specialist's work is for the time being to allow it to absorb him quite; but there is a subsequent step which is not so easy for him, namely to lift his eyes and to realise once more the whole wide world around him from which he has been temporarily withdrawn, and to view his own results in relation to results that are presented from elsewhere.

This was the subject of a little quarrel between Tyndall and Mozley. Mozley pointed out that because some one person alone is able to obtain results in his department of knowledge, it does not therefore follow that another cannot exercise his reason upon those results when once they have been obtained. Newman would leave men to work on in their several departments, and let time be the great interpreter. But he does not leave the matter here; rather he concludes with an impressive caution, which is never out of place in any age. "I am supposing in the scientific enquirer a due fear of giving scandal, of seeming to countenance views which he does not really countenance and of siding with parties from whom he heartily differs. I am supposing that he is fully alive to the existence and the power of the infidelity of the age; that he keeps in mind the moral weakness and the intellectual confusion of the majority of men; and that he has no wish at all that any one soul should get harm from certain speculations to-day, though he may have the satisfaction of being sure that those speculations will, as far as they are erroneous or misunderstood, be corrected in the course of the next half century." I have thought it better to omit nothing

from this last paragraph inasmuch as it is, I think, through the door of this supposition that the principle of the *Index* finds its proper entrance.

VII.

I have made some attempt to show how we come to have divisions and how such divisions may become unhappy divisions. The Holy Spirit divides to every man severally as He wills ; and it is when we forget this that envy and jealousy spring up in the human breast and lead to contradictions first and schisms afterwards. The poor man envies the rich, or the man of small mind envies the man of great intellect. Or, again, men are apt to magnify themselves and their gifts at the expense of others, and so we come to have departments of knowledge that have become estranged one from another. And so it is on a larger scale and in regard to the unity of the Church, heresy, or the habit of selecting a portion of the faith and leaving the rest, comes from forgetfulness of the source of faith ; it is too easily forgotten that the deposit of faith is entrusted to the Church for her to “ keep whole and undefiled,” and that the power to believe at all comes from God.

In every aspect of the question the explanation is the same. Our proper dignity comes not from the fact of our having power or from the amount of power we are found to have, but from the fact that God Himself is the giver of it. When this is steadily kept in mind envy and jealousy will be found gradually to disappear, and the spirit of heresy and schism to give place to the divine law of Unity.

CHAPTER V.

HINDRANCES AND HELPS.

THE first step with all difficulties is to reduce them to their proper dimensions, and to exhibit them in their true proportions ; and the means by which this is achieved is the method of explanation.

Explanation is the spreading out of truth in order to make it plain ; and this is Bossuet's plan for the restoration of Unity. Manning, indeed, goes further, and describes it as "the divine method of showing and perpetuating the Truth." And Dr. Creighton speaks in the same sense : "The way to deal with erroneous opinions," he declares, "is to drag them to light, to force them to state themselves definitely, and so prove their scanty basis."

In the Introduction to his famous *Exposition* Bossuet says : "It has been often remarked that the aversion which our adversaries feel for our sentiments is occasioned for the most part by false notions which are entertained of them. To state them, then, with simplicity, and to distinguish them with accuracy as defined by the Church in the Council of Trent, will be no unacceptable service to those who wish to judge of us with candour." Actual life, the very air we breathe, is alive with inherited prejudices, "invincible ignorance," and numberless misunderstandings, so much so, that men are found to be more often right in opposing than right in what they oppose.

If, for instance, I believe that a priest claims to forgive

sins in his own name I am right in opposing ; but where I am wrong is in what I am opposing, since in fact he makes no such claim. To say, then, that he claims to forgive sins only in the name of God, is to make an explanation and thereby to remove a misunderstanding. Henceforth I understand his claim, although I do not necessarily go on to accept it. This will serve to show how far explanation will carry us and where it stops. Misunderstanding is understanding wrongly and explanation enables us to understand aright.

The case, then, appears thus : In looking forward to ultimate reunion with the Holy See, the way would seem to be blocked by certain grave hindrances which appear so insuperable as to make the attempted passage hopeless. Such, for instance, is the teaching of the Church of Rome on the subject of Infallibility, on the dignity of the Blessed Virgin, on the doctrine of Indulgences, and on the Rule of Faith and the reading of the Bible.

These and such as these are said to constitute hindrances of a nature so serious as to justify us in declaring, as Laud was wont to declare in his day, that while Rome is what she is reunion with her is impossible. But the answer to this, so far, is that before we pronounce judgment we have to be sure that we know what it is we are judging, and that in regard to Rome the majority of people are without this knowledge. Just, then, as it is one of the pillars of the English Constitution that no one should be detained in prison without being brought to trial, so it is immoral to banish from our consideration, or to pronounce judgment upon, so vast and so distinguished a body as the Roman Church without carefully weighing its case.

Meantime there are two questions that may be asked in reference to these difficulties :—1st, What is the truth about this doctrine ? 2ndly, Is this doctrine true ? And it is only the former of these questions that I am proposing to myself in this chapter.

SECTION I.—*Infallibility.*

It is important at the outset to distinguish between the word and the thing, since the thing is as old as the Church of God herself, whereas until the time of the Vatican Council in 1870 the word had been used only in provincial Councils, or pastoral letters, or theological schools, and never in the formal acts of any General Council of the Church. The distinction is important because, if it can be shown that "Infallibility" is not a new thing, but rather a new name for an old thing, one of the gravest objections to this doctrine will have disappeared.

I.

What, then, is the proper signification of the term? I understand it to mean—the power to pronounce a solemn and final judgment; that is, a judgment which must be understood as terminating discussion, upon all questions having to do with faith and morals within the limits of the original revelation; such judgment being manifestly proclaimed for the benefit of all the faithful.

Now, this special form of power is the result of divine assistance; and when we say that this assistance attaches to the head and members together, we are saying that the Church is infallible; and when we go on further to say that the same assistance attaches also to the Primate in particular, we are saying that the Pope is infallible; and in so stating the case we are saying what the Roman Church says.

As a member of the Church the Pope shares in the infallibility of the Church; but as the Church's head and under the special circumstances of an *ex cathedrâ* definition this same infallibility is found to converge and to concentrate itself upon his primacy. Thus the Pope is the only member of the Church who can ever be said to have the benefit of this

infallibility whole and entire for himself, and then it is only in so far as he is also its head, and under the conditions and limitations of the Vatican decree.

That this has been true from the beginning is the belief of the Roman Church; the Vatican definition in 1870 being understood merely as the solemn assertion of this truth. And those who wish to understand the circumstances which led up to the definition and the way the entire subject was handled by those who took part in the discussions should read the account by Mr. Wilfrid Ward in *William George Ward and the Catholic Revival* (pp. 234-274; 419-447); *The True Story of the Vatican Council*, by Manning; Newman's *Difficulties of Anglicans*, vol. ii.; and *True and False Infallibility*, by Fessler, the Secretary-General of the Council. Meantime I will here set down the words of the Vatican Council as contained in the 4th chapter of the first dogmatic definition on the Church of Christ.

The title of the chapter, on which I shall have some words to say presently, was framed with precision, and should be observed with care; it runs thus:—"On the Infallible Teaching Office of the Roman Pontiff." And the words of the definition are as follows:—

"The Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of St. Peter that by His revelation they might make known a new doctrine, but that by His assistance they might holily preserve and faithfully expound the revelation delivered to the Apostles, or, in other words, the 'deposit of faith.' This is that Apostolical doctrine which all the venerable Fathers of the Church have embraced and all the orthodox holy Doctors have venerated and followed; for they had the most perfect conviction that this holy See of Peter always remains free from all error, according to the divine promise of our Lord and Saviour, which He made to the Prince of His Apostles: 'I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, in thy turn, one day strengthen thy brethren.'

"This gracious gift of the truth and of indefectible faith

has been accordingly given by God to Peter and his successors in this See, that they might discharge their high office to the salvation of all ; that so, the universal flock of Christ, turned from the poisonous allurements of error, might be nourished by the pasture of heavenly doctrine ; so that all occasion of schism having been removed, the whole Church might be preserved in unity, and resting on its own solid basis might stand fast against the gates of Hell.

“ But as at this present time when the wholesome efficacy of the Apostolic office is most pressingly needed there are found not a few who derogate from its dignity, we esteem it quite necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only begotten Son of God has graciously declared to be bound up with the highest pastoral authority.

“ Whilst, then, we remain firm to the tradition of the Christian faith, which has come down to us from the beginning, we teach in accordance with this holy Council, to the glory of God our Saviour, to the exaltation of the Catholic religion and for the benefit of all Christian people, and declare it to be a doctrine revealed by God, that the Roman Pontiff when he speaks from his chair of teaching (*ex cathedrâ*)—that is to say when he in the exercise of his office as pastor and doctor of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic power, defines a doctrine on faith or morals as to be held by the Universal Church, by virtue of the divine assistance promised to him in St. Peter—possesses that Infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed His Church to be furnished in the definition of a doctrine respecting faith or morals ; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not merely when they have received the consent of the Church, unalterable. Should, then, any one—which God forbid—venture to contest this definition of ours, let him be Anathema.”

1. The Title. Now, first in regard to the title, “ On the Infallible Teaching Office of the Roman Pontiff,” Fessler, the Secretary-General of the Council, directs our attention to it as

being remarkable. "This expression, 'On the Infallible Teaching Office, etc.', was," he assures us, "chosen purposely instead of the title, 'On the Infallibility,' in order to forestall the erroneous deductions which might be drawn from the general term 'infallibility' by those who were disposed to dispute the doctrine on this very ground, viz. because it was so general. . . ." Again: "It shows in what respect the term 'infallible' is used of the Roman Pontiff."

2. *Ex cathedrâ*. Following the guidance of Fessler again: "*Ex cathedrâ* means—when he (the Pope), in the exercise of his teaching office as pastor and instructor (doctor) of all the faithful, by virtue of his highest Apostolical power, defines as to be held by the whole Church doctrine that regards faith or morals." That is, "the gift of divine grace conveying infallibility in faith and morals is closely restricted to the exercise of his office as Pastor and Doctor of all Christians." The Pope, it is to be remembered, combines in his own person four several offices:—

- (1) The Supreme Teacher of truth revealed by God.
- (2) The Supreme Priest.
- (3) The Supreme Legislator in ecclesiastical matters.
- (4) The Supreme Judge in ecclesiastical causes.

Now, in regard to which of these are we to say that he is infallible?

We can draw our pen through (4), through (3), and through (2), and this leaves us only with (1); and the statement appears thus—

It is in his capacity as the Supreme Teacher of truth revealed by God, and only in that capacity, that the Pope is understood to be infallible.

(2), (3), and (4) stand outside the scope of this gift.

Furthermore, "Even in dogmatic decrees, bulls, etc., not all which therein occurs in any one place, not that which occurs or is mentioned incidentally, not a preface, nor what is

laid down as the basis of the decree, is to be looked upon itself as a dogmatic definition, and so as matter of infallibility."

The same writer distinguishes the two marks of an *ex cathedrâ* utterance as—

- (a) The *objectum* or subject-matter of the decision must be doctrine of faith or morals.
- (b) The Pope must express his intention, by virtue of his supreme teaching power, to declare this particular doctrine on faith and morals to be a component part of truth necessary to salvation, revealed by God, and as such to be held by the whole Catholic Church; he must publish it, and so give a formal definition in the matter (*definire*).

Such are the two notes, and they must be found together. "Any mere circumstances do not suffice to enable a person to recognise what a Pope says as an utterance *ex cathedrâ*, or, in other words, as a *de fide* definition." But where the two notes above mentioned are present, the circumstances of the case serve to support and strengthen the proof of the Pope's intentions.

Now, where men do not observe these limitations, it follows that they sweep into the net of Papal infallibility a large number of utterances which do not properly appertain to it; and so, where history appears to contradict these utterances, they are led to repudiate the dogma itself. This was the case with Dr. Schulte, who, as Fessler said, "found a great number of *ex cathedrâ* utterances, whereas I find a few only."

If it is asked, "What is the precise worth of Fessler's authority?" the answer is—

- 1st. That he was Secretary-General of the Council.
- 2nd. Pius IX. ordered his book, *True and False Infallibility*, to be translated into Italian, and wrote a letter "avowing his satisfaction with it."
3. The Deposit of Faith. It is important to understand

that no Pope, no individual parish priest can add to the faith once for all delivered to the saints.

When you hear, therefore, that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception has been defined, and that the faithful are required to accept it, you may believe it to be an addition to "The Faith," but you must not persuade yourself that the Pope does, or you will be misunderstanding the case ; because, in regard to any *ex cathedrâ* definition whatsoever, the very reason for proclaiming it is, that it is understood to be a part of that original deposit that was committed by our Lord to the Apostles. Whether in this case the Pope's understanding was a misunderstanding is not for us here to consider, inasmuch as it belongs to the second and distinct question, which I am not attempting to answer.

But the sum of the original deposit is the proper concern of the Pope ; and if we say that the number 10 represents this sum, revelation, in that case, can never come to be represented by the number 11, or 12, or any higher figure.

4. Ancient and Modern. The infallibility of the Church is understood to result from the presence of the Holy Spirit, promised generally to the Apostles ; and the infallibility of the Pontiff as such from the particular promise to St. Peter.

Now, that special words were said to St. Peter alone, and that special words were afterwards said to the Apostles, St. Peter himself being among them, is a fact of Scripture, whether the subsequent deductions from this fact are true or false ; and therefore infallibility is regarded, whether rightly or wrongly, as part of the original deposit, and not as something novel and therefore strange ; and the Vatican definition in 1870 was put forward as the new and precise wording of an original truth. The substantial fact was understood to have come down from the beginning, although the term "ultimately chosen" to express it was of recent date ; and there are said to have been three periods in the history of its progress—

1st. The Period of Simple Belief.

2nd. The Period of Analysis and Controversy.

3rd. The Period of Gradual Determination and Final Definition.

(1) And first, the period of simple belief. This means that in the earliest ages of the Church, so far as we have records of them, "the stability, solidity, immutability of the Apostolic See was believed in simply." St. Irenæus, for instance (A.D. 202): "... in which Church has ever been preserved by the faithful everywhere that tradition which is from the Apostles" (*Adv. Hær.* iii.).

Again, St. Cyprian (A.D. 258): "... the same Romans, whose faith has been commended by the Apostles, to whom faithlessness can have no access" (*Ep.* 59).

Once more, the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451): "St. Peter is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox faith." "Peter hath spoken through Leo."

(2) Next came the period of analysis and controversy, during which the mind of the Church turned in or was thrown back upon itself, and was led to analyse its belief into two elements—the See, and the Person who presides in the See. Gerson, with some others, assented to the infallibility of the See, but denied the infallibility of the Person.

Later on, a further analysis was made into the two elements of the Person and the Primacy, and it soon came to be understood that "it is not the material chair, nor is it the collective body of the Church around it, but the successor of Peter, who bears the office of Peter, with the powers or promises attaching to it."

It is in this sense, and only in this sense, that infallibility is understood to be "personal"; and so, again, the word "separate" signifies that infallibility was "promised to the head, that from him it should be derived to the Church," and not that the head of the Church as such can ever be separated either from the *ecclesia docens*, that is, the episcopate, or from the *ecclesia discens*, that is, the faithful.

(3) And the last period is that of the final definition itself ;

when the substantial thing felt its way ultimately into the term best fitted to express it.

Thus there is a sense in which "infallibility," and even "Papal infallibility," is at once ancient and modern : modern, inasmuch as it is only in recent times that the ultimate term of its definition has been reached ; and ancient, as having its source in scriptural times and texts.

5. The Divine Assistance. The power of infallibility results from the assistance promised by our Lord generally to the Apostles, and also particularly to him who was chosen as their head. The Holy Spirit was to be with them, to bring all things to their remembrance, and to guide them into all truth. But this assistance is not to be understood as "an inherent quality," but rather as being "external and conditional ;" as extending to the means as well as to the end ; as being in nowise, therefore, synonymous with magic ; and as finding its materials for the most part in the ordinary and everyday helps that lie about us.

Thus infallibility is not to be confused with inspiration : nor is it to be understood as dispensing with human materials and instruments ; as though it were our ignorance of the means, in any particular instance, that proved them to be divine—and not rather the fact that God had so disposed and handled them as to have made them converge to a particular end. The Vatican Council, for instance, was the ultimate outcome of an immediate process which had been set in motion six years before : and that process discovers a series of situations in which the episcopate is never separate from its head ; but in regard to which the head is seen from time to time striking in on his own initiative, and giving a particular set and direction to the deliberations : and this would be understood to illustrate the two ways in which one and the same infallibility is found to operate.

After a question has been coursing through the brains of Popes and people for some hundreds of years, a point of time comes, a climax is reached, and the moment is understood to

have arrived for a verdict to be pronounced. And at such times, and under such circumstances, and for the purpose of an *ex cathedrâ* definition, the same assistance as attaches to the Church is made to converge and to concentrate itself upon the Primate, enabling him to hit upon the psychological moment for a final and formal consideration of the subject, to guide the deliberations of the Church, and eventually to pronounce a solemn and judicial sentence upon the question that has come before it.

St. Thomas Aquinas has a profound saying which he applies to the subject of inspiration, but which may be applied also, in a measure, to the subject before us :—"The same effect," he says, "is not to be attributed to the natural cause and the divine agency, as if it were partly from God and partly from the natural cause." In fact, it is wholly from both, but in a different manner, "even as the same effect is wholly attributed to the instrument, and wholly to the principal cause."

The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof ; and the treasure of assistance does not therefore cease to be divine because it comes to us, if it so be, in earthen vessels.

On the other hand, we are misunderstanding the case if we say that the Pope is the spokesman of the Church in such a sense as to reduce him to a merely passive state, and so to destroy his power of initiative ; and we are misrepresenting the case if we say that the infallibility of the Pope's definition is dependent upon the acceptance of the Church. This point is important ; and Fessler is clear upon it—"It is not meant by this" (*i.e.* that definitions *ex cathedrâ* are *per se* irreversible, and not only irreversible when they receive the subsequent assent of the Church), "it is not meant by this that the Pope ever decides anything contrary to the tradition of the Church, or that he would stand alone in opposition to all the other Bishops, but only that the infallibility of his definition is not dependent on the acceptance of the Church, and rests on the special divine assistance promised and vouchsafed to him in the person of St. Peter for the exercise of his supreme teaching office."

So far seems clear ; but in regard to subsequent and further questions that may arise in relation to this subject, it should not be forgotten that the discussion at the Vatican Council was interrupted by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, and that it is consequently possible to ask questions bearing upon the case to which no final answer can at present be given. Meantime, no account of the definition would be complete without some allusion to the historical introduction prefixed to the definition, and to the principal historical difficulties which are generally urged in reference to it.

After the proposed definition had been discussed for two months by the "Deputatio pro rebus fidei," or commission of Bishops and theologians appointed for the purpose, one of the Cardinals, being anxious to consider and to conciliate the more moderate party, unexpectedly opposed the formula as too strong ; and it was decided, after some debate, that "the question of the extent of Papal infallibility should be left with the statement that it was the same as that of the Church." And in the historical introduction, as it was finally published, the following words occur :—

"The Roman Pontiffs, as the state of things and times has made advisable, at one time calling Ecumenical Councils or finding out the opinion of the Church dispersed throughout the world, at another by means of particular synods, at another using other means of assistance which Divine Providence supplied, have defined those things to be held which by God's aid they had known to be in agreement with Sacred Scripture and the Apostolic traditions. For the Holy Ghost was promised to the successors of Peter, not that by His revelation they should disclose new doctrine, but that by His *assistencia* they might preserve inviolate, and expound faithfully the revelation or deposit of faith handed down by the Apostles."

This part of our subject may be brought to a conclusion with a few words published in an article in *The Month* (Feb., 1899) :—

"The Pope is not inspired. He is not instructed in

theology by God the Holy Ghost. He must read his infallible decree from some human record. He can read it only from the record of the Church. He must study the mind of the Church and then declare it. His privilege is this, that he reads and declares the mind of the Church without error, when he declares it officially to the whole world. . . . The Church cannot go one way, and the Pope have to call it back to go another. The Pope hears the Church (somewhat in the same way as a judge hears evidence), and then speaks: the Church hears him and knows her own mind by his proclaiming it. There have been times when it was difficult for the Church to know her own mind; for instance, in the predominance of Jansenism. Jansenism was a thorough revision of Christianity: was it in a Catholic sense? There was much logical acumen in Jansenism. The Jansenists affected to know 'the whole counsel of God.' The reader should study the history of the long and laborious consultations which Clement XI. set on foot. He was about to exercise his infallibility. But he did not, to borrow Newman's phrase, exercise it 'in his travelling habit,' or at a wayside inn. He did not sign the decree with the ease of a wealthy man signing a £500 cheque. He prayed, and consulted, and took counsel of his brethren. So came forth the 'Unigenitus,' which, if we may be pardoned the expression, clean knocked the bottom out of Jansenism. Henceforth the Church knew her mind clearly; Jansenism was not Christianity."

II.

The three principal difficulties urged against the dogma of Papal infallibility are the cases of Popes Liberius and Honorius, and the condemnation of Galileo. I mention these, not because there is space here to treat them, but in order to show that I do not forget them.

Perhaps the case of Honorius is the most difficult of the three; those of Liberius and of the condemnation of Galileo can scarcely, indeed, be regarded as serious difficulties at all.

In regard to Galileo I have said some words elsewhere; the Congregation of the Index is a fallible tribunal, and its decision and the grounds of its decision are both of them allowed by Roman Catholics themselves to have been erroneous. Descartes declared "that the condemnation had been authorized neither by Pope nor by General Councils, but was issued solely by a congregation of Cardinals;" while the *Encyclopædia Britannica* declares: "This edict, it is essential to observe, of which the responsibility rests with a disciplinary congregation, in no sense representing the Church, was never confirmed by the Pope, and was virtually repealed in 1757."

In regard to Liberius, so moderate an exponent as Newman observes:—"It is astonishing to me how any one can fancy that Liberius, in subscribing the Arian confession, promulgated it *ex cathedrâ*, considering he was not his own master when he signed, and it was not his drawing-up. Who would say that it would be a judgment of the Queen's Bench, or a judicial act of any kind, if Ribbon-men in Ireland seized one of her Majesty's judges, hurried him into the wilds of Connemara, and there made him, under terror of his life, sign a document in the very teeth of an award which he had lately made in Court on a question of property?"

The case against Honorius is that he was unanimously condemned by the Sixth General Council as a heretic, for having publicly given his support to the Monothelite heresy. While the dispute was raging between those who maintained that our Lord had two wills inasmuch as He had two natures, and those who urged that He had one will only, the Patriarch of Constantinople appears to have asked the Pope to intervene and to impose silence on the two parties. Honorius responded by addressing two letters to the Patriarch. It was these letters that were condemned by the Sixth General Council, Leo II. subsequently confirming the condemnation. The defence is that Honorius erred, not by defining, but by omitting to define; and that he attempted to promote reunion by setting his face against a definition; that is, he was

condemned, not for having taught heresy, but for having failed to define truth.

But it must, of course, be understood that this is not put forward even as a statement of the case, but merely to direct the reader's attention to the existence of the difficulty itself.

Meantime, whether the dogma of Papal infallibility is destined to be more generally received in the future or not, it is easy for us to conceive circumstances under which it would be possible to say that, whereas difficulties more or less will be found to attach to Revelation in all its aspects, it is possible to believe in the inspiration of Scripture in spite of difficulties; it is possible, again, to believe in the infallibility of the Church in spite of difficulties; and so, in spite of difficulties, it might be possible to accept the infallibility of the Pope.

However this may be, my aim in this section has been to answer the question as to what is the truth about "Papal infallibility," without attempting to decide whether the dogma as such is true.

SECTION II.—*The Blessed Virgin.*

The devotional language sometimes addressed to the Blessed Virgin presents another formidable difficulty to some minds; and such language, it should be remembered, is not peculiar to Rome, but is in fact more "free and fearless" in the Greek than in the Latin devotion.

I.

I will begin by setting down some instances of the Greek devotion to the Blessed Virgin:—

- (1) "Holy, Holy, Holy, art Thou, God; have mercy on us through the Theotocos."
- (2) "O Lord God Almighty, . . . bless and hallow Thy place . . . at the intercession (*πρεσβείαις*) of our Gracious Lady, Mary, Mother of God, and Ever-Virgin."

- (3) At the Offertory at Mass : "In honour and memory of our singularly blessed glorious Queen, Mary Theotocos, and Ever-Virgin ; at whose intercession, O Lord, receive, O Lord, this Sacrifice unto Thy Altar, which is beyond the heavens."
- (4) In the Commemoration at Mass : "Cantors. Hail, Mary, full of grace, etc., etc. . . . for thou hast borne the Saviour of our souls. Priests [Remember, Lord], especially the most Holy Immaculate, etc. . . . Mary. Cantors. It is meet truly to bless (*μακαρίζειν*) thee, the Theotocos . . . more honourable than the Cherubim . . . thee we magnify, who art truly the Theotocos. O full of grace, in thee the whole creation rejoices, the congregations of Angels, and the race of men, O sanctified shrine, and Spiritual Paradise, boast of Virgins, etc." Jerusalem Rite.
- (5) Apparently, after the Consecration : "The Priest incenses thrice before the image (or Picture, *imagine*) of the Virgin, and says : Rejoice, Mary, beautiful dove, who hast borne for us God, the Word ; thee we salute with the Angel Gabriel, saying, Hail, full of Grace, the Lord is with thee, Hail, Virgin, true Queen ; Hail, glory of our race, thou hast borne Emmanuel. We ask, remember us, O faithful advocate, in the sight of our Lord Jesus Christ, that He put away from us our sins." Alexandrian Rite.
- (6) "Let us now run earnestly to the Theotocos, sinners as we are, and bow, and let us fall in repentance, crying from the depths of our souls, Lady, aid us, taking compassion on us. Make haste, we perish under the multitude of our offences. Turn us not, thy servants, empty away ; for we have thee as our only hope." And again : "My whole hope I repose in thee." Triordion, p. 94.

It is plain that such language, belonging as it does to the Greek Church, is more than equal in its fulness to that of the

Church of Rome, and that if it is to pass at all, in the case of any Church whatever, it can only be by the application of canons which are proper to the department of devotion, and which for that very reason would be out of place and therefore beside the mark in a severe dogmatic treatise.

It can only be according to some principle in the Heavenly sphere, analogous to that which entitles us to address our mother on earth as our one and only hope, as the person who of all others can save us if she will, and in regard to whom when she is taken from us we may be allowed to say the light of our life is gone out.

II.

And now upon what grounds is devotion of this kind understood to be based?

1. The Mother of our Lord. The one answer which is generally returned to this question is: The Blessed Virgin is the Mother of Jesus; and Jesus is the Son of God. "Jesus is the great God, and Mary is His Mother."

In looking out upon a fallen world God singled out and distinguished her from all other creatures; and Mary, on her part, responded to God's call and was obedient.

Thus St. Irenæus says: "... Mary, ... being obedient, became both to herself and to the whole human race the cause of salvation."

2. The Second Eve. Tertullian says: "For unto Eve, as yet a virgin, had crept the word which was the framer of death; equally into a virgin was to be introduced the word of God which was the builder-up of life. ... Eve had believed the serpent; Mary believed Gabriel; the fault which the one committed by believing, the other by believing has blotted out."

Again, St. Irenæus: "The knot of Eve's disobedience received its unloosing through the obedience of Mary."

St. Justin, St. Irenæus, and Tertullian agree in speaking of the Blessed Virgin not merely as the physical instrument of

the Incarnation, but as "an intelligent, responsible cause of it." Mary is regarded as having earned this stupendous honour by her faith and obedience.

Let us assign the date A.D. 145 to St. Justin, and A.D. 200 to Tertullian; and if we here follow Newman, the former may be said to represent the East and the latter the West.

In his letter to Pusey, from which the above instances have been adduced, Newman goes on to say, in reference to these three Fathers belonging to the second century, "I have at least got so far as this, viz., that no one, who acknowledges the force of early testimony in determining Christian truth, can wonder, no one can complain, can object that we Catholics should hold a very high doctrine concerning the Blessed Virgin, unless, indeed, stronger statements can be brought for a contrary conception of her, either of as early, or at least of a later, date. But, as far as I know, no statements can be brought from the Ante-Nicene literature, to invalidate the testimony of the three Fathers concerning her; and little can be brought against it from the fourth century, while in that fourth century the current of testimony in her behalf is as strong as in the second; and, as to the fifth, it is far stronger than in any former time, both in its fulness and its authority. That such is the concordant verdict of 'the undivided Church' will, to some extent, be seen as I proceed."

Of many passages then quoted I will mention only one from St. Jerome (331-490): "Death by Eve, life by Mary."

"I do not know," adds Newman, "whose testimony is more important than St. Jerome's, the friend of Pope Damasus at Rome, the pupil of St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, and of Didymus in Alexandria, a native of Dalmatia, yet an inhabitant, at different times of his life, of Gaul, Syria, and Palestine."

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is generally understood to be bound up with this teaching of the early Fathers, that Mary was the second Eve. This doctrine stands thus:

Mary was from the first singled out from all others to be the mother of our Lord ; and with a view to this end, "together with the nature which she inherited from her parents, that is, her own nature, she received a superadded fulness of grace, and that from the first moment of her existence."

And this would require to be looked at in the light of Bull's exposition of the Fall, viz. that supernatural endowment, that is, Grace, was bestowed upon our first parents at the outset, and that it was lost by their disobedience afterwards. This supernatural power, called Grace, was once more let down from above, as it were, upon the second Eve, and with a view to our redemption, to enable her to undo the ruin introduced by the first Eve.

Whatever may be the truth in regard to the "Immaculate Conception," it is certainly not true to say that Pius IX. put forward the definition in spite of the Church, and without any reference to its mind.

"The Bull 'Ineffabilis Deus,' which defined the doctrine, shows that the definition was not issued without the judgment of the Episcopate throughout the world being taken and considered for years. The greater part of the Bull is occupied with proving the consensus of ecclesiastical belief and teaching, upon which the Pope was about to act." And in confirmation of this statement Newman declares in his *Apologia* that, "so far from the definition in 1854 being a tyrannical infliction on the Catholic world, it was received everywhere on its promulgation with the greatest enthusiasm. It was in consequence of the unanimous petition, presented from all parts of the Church to the Holy See, in behalf of the *ex cathedrâ* declaration that the doctrine was Apostolic, that it was declared so to be." Again : "It is a simple fact to say, that Catholics have not come to believe it because it is defined, but that it was defined because they believed it." But, in this as in other similar instances, the question as to whether they are right in so believing it does not fall within the scope of this Essay.

III.

1. In the process, then, of giving to all their due we think first of God, who stands absolutely alone as the one Being having all power and yet who has never received it ; and next, we turn to the creatures of His hand, and whether human or otherwise, we know that their glory, whatever may be the measure of it, is derived from Him ; and that throughout the entire length and breadth of the universe, all that is not God has no power of itself to help itself, but its sufficiency is of Him.

Next, it is plain that some have more power than others, whether we think of angels or of men. He hath given them their bounds, and we offer to them the honour that is their due.

Thus "we adore God ; we honour and reverence His Saints ;" and of these Saints the Blessed Virgin is plainly the first.

2. The Communion of Saints next comes up for our consideration ; and this communion is realised by prayer. I asked a distinguished father of the Society of Jesus to explain the dignity of the Blessed Virgin from the Roman point of view and in this connexion ; and he said : "Our position is this : we say that when we pray it is a help to us to feel that the Blessed Virgin is by our side." I understood him to mean that within this communion he would say of all the saints, but especially of the Blessed Virgin, "Pray with us, and pray for us."

As, then, the terms King, Teacher, Giver, are used in a secondary sense among creatures still living upon Earth ; so only in a secondary sense can such terms be used of the saints reigning with Christ in Heaven.

In the language of precision, God is the only Giver ; all others are receivers, and, so far as they are men of prayer, askers. And among askers the prayers of the more saintly are

understood to be the more efficacious, as "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man" is said to "avail much."

We certainly say to our friends on earth, "Pray for me," or, "Remember me in your prayers," or, "It is a great help to me to know that so many friends are praying for me;" and we do this without any intention of intruding into that direct line of relation in which we stand to Almighty God Himself; nor when we come to our own prayers does this in any sense confuse us; and our Roman friends assure us it is the same with themselves in their relations to Almighty God on the one hand and to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints on the other.

IV.

The absolute sincerity of Newman's *Apologia* is recognised on all hands; does his witness help us here as it helped us in the matter of Tradition and Scripture? Let his words be steadily weighed, in the light of that motive which is intended to govern every word I say in this book; viz., the desire for a greater measure of agreement among all Christians in order "that the world may believe."

"Now," he writes, "it must be observed that the writings of St. Alfonso, as I knew them by the extracts commonly made from them, prejudiced me as much against the Roman Church as anything else, on account of what was called their "Mariolatry;" but there was nothing of the kind in this book (a volume of St. Alphonso Liguori's sermons, lent to him by Dr. Russell).

"I wrote to ask Dr. Russell whether anything had been left out in the translation; he answered that there certainly were omissions in one sermon about the Blessed Virgin. This omission, in the case of a book intended for Catholics, at least showed that such passages as are found in the works of Italian authors were not acceptable to every part of the Catholic world. Such devotional manifestations in honour of our Lady had been my great crux as regards Catholicism; I say frankly, I

do not fully enter into them now ; I trust I do not love her the less, because I cannot enter into them. They may be fully explained and defended ; but sentiment and taste do not run with logic : they are suitable for Italy, but they are not suitable for England. . . . Only this I know full well now, and did not know then, that the Catholic Church allows no image of any sort, material, or immaterial, no dogmatic symbol, no rite, no Sacrament, no Saint, not even the Blessed Virgin herself, to come between the soul and its Creator. It is face to face, 'solus cum solo,' in all matters between man and his God. He alone creates ; He alone has redeemed ; before His awful eyes we go in death ; in the vision of Him is our Eternal beatitude."

What a significant passage is this ! How is it possible, with thoughts of Reunion in our minds, to read it and not to be moved by it ?

It yields fruit surely in regard to this enterprise, in the way of experience, of proportion, and of explanation.

In the first instance the writer is as offended by some expressions of devotions to the Blessed Virgin¹ as any one of

¹ At the fifth International Marian Congress, which opened on August 18th, 1902, at Fribourg, and included in its numbers ten Roman Catholic Bishops, the following solemn and explicit declaration was unanimously adopted, and received with applause :—

"This assembly of sodalists in Fribourg lifts its voice aloud, in order to protest solemnly against the calumny, three centuries old, that Catholics make the august Mother of God an object of adoration. The assembly, in the name of truth and justice, demands that this lie and calumny, systematically spread by official teachers and masters of religious communities separated from us, should at length cease. It calls attention to the irrefutable truth that the Catholic Church knows of no other adoration but that of the Triune God, and of Jesus Christ our Lord ; and that all love of and confidence in the Blessed Virgin Mary is strictly limited to such love and veneration as, according to the words of the Archangel Gabriel, the eulogy of St. Elizabeth, and the requirements of reason itself, is owing to a creature who was elevated to the position of Mother of Jesus Christ, and to whom even an Apostle was committed from the Cross as a child to its mother."

us would be ; next a Roman book falls into his hands and these expressions are conspicuous by their absence ; again, on inquiry he finds they have been omitted for the sake, not of Anglicans, but of Catholics ; witnessing to a recognition of variation within the unity of the Church ; and lastly, Newman gives us his own experience after nineteen years' immediate and continuous contact with the very phenomenon he is considering ; " Only this I know full well now, and did not know then. . . . "

V.

If it is right, then, to seek the truth, and to be honest in our search for it ; if we are expressly told that we are living under the guidance of the Holy Spirit whose office it is to lead us into all truth ; and if we are sincere in the laments in which we so often indulge over " our unhappy divisions," must we not acknowledge, too, that we in our turn know now what we did not know before ; and that a passage like this brings us nearer indeed to our brethren.

It suggests once more the importance everywhere of a sense of proportion, of viewing parts as parts, and looking at them and judging them in reference to their proper setting and not to one of our own making.

In a Church which is in the habit of placing an image of St. Joseph on one side of the chancel screen and an image of the Blessed Virgin on the other ; the High Altar being universally recognised as the home of the Blessed Sacrament and the dwelling-place of Him who is the Saviour of mankind, the real presence of Christ is after all the commanding fact ; and no altar to the Blessed Virgin appears anywhere either by its relative position or its surroundings to enter into competition with this or to confuse the proportions of the faith. I am not denying the excesses into which devotional language to the Blessed Virgin may sometimes fall ; nor the need for watching and correcting them ; but they will be found, in

such cases, to arise, I think, from the abuse and not the use of the Church's teaching; and to persist in spite of the dogmatic treatise and the pictorial representation, and not as a legitimate consequence of it.

In any case the fact remains, that the vast majority of Christians within a Church of which we claim to be a part recognise the principle and adopt the practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, while with ourselves such devotion is almost entirely away; that the Primitive Church to which the Church of England appeals is found to sanction, in this respect, more than the Church of England allows herself to practice, and that it is possible and reasonable to hope that at a later stage, and therefore under other circumstances, in the course of a movement which is manifestly progressive, a public opinion may grow up and spread throughout the entire Body, and so by altering our case be found also to have changed our duties.

Meantime the attitude of discussion, without any attempt to push things further, would so far be in conformity with the attitude of the Church elsewhere—at least in the West. The principle, I think, is just and important; and if, as I have suggested in regard to the enterprise as a whole, the same attitude may here be adopted as is recognised in the sphere of the law, and measures may be debated as if they had already been passed in order to ascertain whether they ought to be passed, the prospects of Reunion will soon be found to look brighter.

SECTION III.—*The Rule of Faith.*

In declaring the teaching of the Roman Church upon this subject I will set down two passages; the first being derived from the Council of Trent (First Session, 1545; final Confirmation, 1564); and the second from Bossuet's famous *Exposition*.

(1) Council of Trent: "The sacred and holy Œcumenical and

General Synod of Trent. . . . Keeping this always in view that errors being removed, the purity itself of the Gospel should be preserved in the Church, which (Gospel) before promised through the prophets in the Holy Scriptures, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, first promulgated with His own mouth and then commanded to be preached by His Apostles to every creature, as the fountain both of every saving truth and also of the discipline of morals; and perceiving that this truth and discipline is contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ Himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down even to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand; (the Synod) following the example of the orthodox Fathers, receives and venerates, with equal affection of piety and reverence, all the books both of the Old and also of the New Testament—seeing that one God is the author of both—as also the said traditions, both those appertaining to faith as well as those appertaining to morals, as having been dictated either by Christ's own word of mouth or by the Holy Ghost, and preserved by a continuous succession in the Catholic Church."

- (2) Bossuet: "Jesus Christ having laid the foundation of His Church by preaching, the unwritten word was the first rule of Christianity, and when the writings of the New Testament were added this unwritten word did not on that account lose its authority; which makes us receive with equal veneration all that was ever taught by the Apostles whether by writing or by word of mouth, as St. Paul himself has expressly declared."

In comparing the Roman and Anglican positions, Newman laid it down as his deliberate conviction that "the differences of Rome and England in the question of Scripture and

Tradition are, in the hands of Anglican controversialists, verbal only. Catholic controversialists, while insisting that they need not prove their doctrine from Scripture, always do so prove it; and Anglicans, while insisting that Tradition is unauthoritative, treat it with a deference which is the correlative of authority."

In regard to what may be described as the Protestant view, Scripture in this case is conceived of as though it constituted a complete picture let down from Heaven; there is the entire message, and all that Christians have to do is to range themselves in front of it and to make a faithful copy; the notion of a living society with a mind and memory of its own being altogether away.

SECTION IV.—*Bible Reading.*

It is easy to forget that the mere reading of any book whatsoever is not in itself a virtue; and with the Bible, as in other cases, the worst abuse of all is the abuse of that which is best. The principle of proportion must never be lost sight of here: and while there may be reason to complain of the neglect of Bible reading within the Roman Church, experience warns us against the dangers of Bible abuse outside it.

The multiplication of sects in England can be traced in many instances, if not in all, to the habit of viewing texts apart from their context, and to the false assumption that any one in the world may discover the sense of Scripture merely by reading its words.

The problem of Bible reading, then, is not so easily settled as at first sight appears; and if habits, like the men who adopt them, are to be known by their fruits, each side in the controversy has something to answer for.

The unrestricted exercise of private judgment upon the sacred text, so far as it issues in contradictions and confusions, cannot be justified; nor is it possible to acquiesce in that

absence of serious-mindedness and that tendency to extravagant emotionalism that results from the neglect of Holy Scripture.

The problem is how to promote the habit of Bible reading without at the same time and thereby promoting our unhappy divisions; and if we are to be fair to this question we must keep our eyes open to both sides of the difficulty.

Meantime, in regard to the Roman Church, there is a question of fact and a question of principle; and, first, as to the question of principle.

I.

The attitude of the Roman Church towards Scripture must be examined in its proper setting. Definite dogmatic teaching, nay, even pictorial teaching, is the normal food of a Roman Catholic from the first: the High Altar to be seen not here or there merely as a striking contrast to an otherwise general rule; the unquestioned Presence, and the habit everywhere of Eucharistic adoration; the large Crucifix; the lifelike images of the Holy Family; the saints having their place or part in the familiar conversation of everyday life; the well-considered and undisturbed ceremonial; the Mass as the recognised service of obligation everywhere;—all this is vivid: and by such means the things and even the proportion of faith are secured and figured upon the mind of a worshipper in a manner not easy for us to realise; and it is for those who live and move in an atmosphere such as this that the Roman principles upon this subject are prescribed. Language is not to be restricted to the words we hear or read; and with our Roman brethren it is employed in its larger and more dramatic sense also; the situations in the Gospels being presented in manifold ways to our senses, so as to fasten them upon our attention and to wedge them into our minds; and even where the authorities have appeared to exercise a too severe restraint upon the habit of Bible reading, it is unfair

not to acknowledge that their motive has been, not to keep the Bible from the people, but rather to keep it for them.

In the case of M. Lasserre, for instance, it is not fair merely to say that he published an edition of the Gospels, and that it was suppressed, without also saying why he wrote it, and why it was suppressed. In his preface he called attention to the fact that "the greater part of the children of the Church only know fragments of the sacred volume, reproduced in no logical or chronological order in prayer-books and in the Mass for Sundays and Feasts;" but then he also went on to ask how this had come to be, and his answer was that the abuse to which Protestants have subjected Scripture has compelled the authorities to regulate the practice of Bible reading; and for the same reason some more timid souls have shunned, with a kind of dread, the unassisted reading of Scripture, and have been led to substitute for it books of devotion in which eternal truths are "diluted" (*délavé*), and, as it were, "almost lost in the strange waters of ascetic or mystic consideration, rules of piety, processes of perfection, and prayers of every sort."

And so, again, as to the motives for suppressing the work: we may agree or not with them, but what we may not do is to substitute motives of our own making, and then to pronounce adverse judgments upon the work of our own hands. Some of the translations and paraphrases were considered seriously misleading; and those who wish to know the facts should read the pamphlet upon the subject by the late Father Clarke of the Society of Jesus.

The principle, then, for us to bear in mind, is the use of pictorial and dramatic teaching in the Roman Church, and her claim to be the guardian and exponent of Scripture, on the one hand; and the confusion issuing in indifference and unbelief which can be proved to have resulted from the unlimited exercise of private judgment, on the other.

And now to pass to the question of fact.

II.

Speaking generally, special stress is laid upon the devotional reading of the Psalms and the Gospels; and during the past twelve years, in England at least, the habit of Bible reading has been encouraged, and to a large extent carried out among our Roman Catholic brethren; and this with the express sanction of the Pope himself.

On the inner side of the cover of a small edition of St. Matthew's Gospel, for instance, which now lies open before me, I read these words:—

“His Holiness Leo XIII., at an audience on December 13th, 1898, with the undersigned Prefect of the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics, made known that he grants to all the faithful who shall have devoutly read the Scriptures for at least a quarter of an hour an indulgence of three days, to be gained once a day provided that the edition of the Gospel has been approved by legitimate authority. Furthermore the Sovereign Pontiff grants monthly a plenary indulgence to all those who shall have read in this way every day of the month. It can be gained on the day of the month when, after Confession and Communion, those who shall have fulfilled the conditions shall have offered up the customary prayers for the intentions of the Holy See.

“Given at Rome on December 13th, 1898,

“CARDINAL GOTTI, Prefect.”

A copy of this can be obtained from the Catholic Truth Society for the modest sum of one penny. For the rest, it will be best to say some words about the past, and afterwards about the present.

1. The Past. We have to remember that in the Middle Ages, before the invention of printing, and when the greater number of people were unable to read for themselves, the truths of Scripture were taught by means of paintings, stained glass windows, and miracle plays. In Germany, for instance,

a set of forty or fifty pictures of Bible subjects became so popular and so famous as to be described as "the Bible of the Poor" (*Biblia Pauperum*); and in regard to the whole subject of Bible reading in those days there are misapprehensions which ought to be removed.

"Some people think," writes Dr. Cutts, "that it (the Bible) was very little read (in the Middle Ages) even by the clergy; whereas the fact is that the sermons of the mediæval preachers are more full of Scriptural quotation and allusions than any sermons in these days; and the writers on other subjects are so full of Scriptural allusion that it is evident that their minds were saturated with scriptural diction. . . . Another common error is that the clergy were unwilling that the laity should read the Bible for themselves, and carefully kept it in an unknown tongue that the people might not be able to read it. . . . We have the authority of Sir Thomas More for saying that the whole Bible was, long before Wyclif's days, 'by virtuous and well-learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read.' . . . And again, on another occasion, he says: 'The clergy keep no Bibles from the laity but such translations as be either yet not approved for good, or such as be already approved for naught (bad), as Wyclif's was.'" And Dr. Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, writes (vol. iii. p. 83): "It was not till the designs of the Lollards were discovered that Wyclif's version was proscribed."

In regard to translations, a catalogue of Bibles was on view in the Caxton Exhibition at South Kensington (1877) which effectually disposes of the popular delusion that the Bible in its entirety was discovered for the first time by Luther at Erfurt about the year 1507.

A large number of editions of the Latin Vulgate (Bible in Latin) and no fewer than nine German editions of the Bible were to be seen in the Exhibition, all of them belonging to a date prior to the year 1483, the year of Luther's birth; and

there are known to have been at least three more editions before the end of the century, that is before Martin Luther had attained his seventeenth year.

It must be remembered, of course, that in those days most people who were able to read at all were able also to read in Latin.

Let us contemplate, then, what may serve as an outline sketch of this situation.

Janssen provides us with an interesting account of the matter ; and I will range the facts one under the other :—

- (1) 1440. Gutenberg's first attempt at cutting out types from blocks of wood.
- (2) 1450 (about). First book printed entirely with movable types.
- (3) 1455 (about). The celebrated Mazarin Bible, *Biblia Sacra Latina*, was published, 2 vols., folio.
- (4) 1457. The Psalter appeared. $\frac{3}{8}$ -inch high ; capitals in three colours.
- (5) 1459. Second edition of Psalter.
- (6) 1462. Second Latin Bible.
- (7) 1473. Art of Printing planted in Buda.
- (8) 1474. Art of Printing planted in London.
- (9) 1478. Art of Printing planted in Oxford.
- (10) 1483. Art of Printing planted in Stockholm.
1483. Koburger's German Bible (with more than one hundred wood engravings by Michael Wolgemut). Fifteen editions of this by the end of the century.
- (11) 1479-1489. Nine editions of the Bible from the Amerbach Press at Basle.
1483. Birth of Luther.
- (12) 1490. Art of Printing planted in Constantinople.
- (13) 1500. Down to the year 1500 (Luther is now seventeen years of age) the Vulgate was published over one hundred times.

There were fourteen complete Bibles in High German ;

There were five complete Bibles in Low German down to the secession of Luther.

Eleven editions of the Psalms before the year 1513.

Twenty-five editions of the Gospels and Epistles before 1518.

Two editions in Spain by the year 1515 (Luther thirty-two years of age), of which one was published with the express permission of the Spanish Inquisition.

Eighteen editions published in French by the year 1547.

The strange superstition about Luther having found the Bible for the first time at Erfurt, in 1507, originated with Daubigné.

2. The Present. In regard to the teaching and reading of the Bible at the present time in schools and convents the following evidence may be of interest :—

(1) — Mother —, Sister of Mercy, of —, who has, with other nuns, taught in the Catholic Poor Schools of a large town for many years, supplies the following information :—“The children are taught a great deal of Old and New Testament History. Even the infants begin with the Old Testament Story. Higher standards learn parables and miracles by heart, and long passages out of the New Testament.”

A Roman Catholic lady, a convert, Miss F. R. Carr, who kindly allows me to use her name, sends me the following letter from her cousin, a nun in a well-known convent and school for young ladies in the Midlands :—“About the Bible teaching in our school I can speak, having had the Religious Instructions to give from 1876 to 1899. We have a Diocesan Inspector who gives us our annual examination. Every girl in the upper school (*i.e.* all over twelve years or so) has her New Testament, which is used not only to learn our Lord's life, and miracles, and parables, but to illustrate the whole course of Dogmatic teaching. They learnt their Sunday Gospels regularly, and other parts such as Matthew xxv. 31 ;

1 Cor. xiii., etc., etc. Many could find me a text as quickly as I could myself. Each year we studied either one of the Gospels or the Acts. The Old Testament we never put as it stands into the hands of our girls. They had Fr. Formby's *Old Testament History*, readings from the Old Testament, and others. They learnt the text from their own books, and each story I read to them from the Bible itself. All the illustrations of the Catechism were taken from one or other of the Books. Most examiners would take no other except, of course, from Church history. I forgot to say that many of the girls have their books of Psalms, but that is not obligatory like the New Testament. I cannot lay my hands on the 'Scheme for Religious Instruction,' but I think I have told you all. As for us nuns, the Scriptures are our daily bread. Where would the Breviary be without them?"

At St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, at Midsummer, 1899, Thomas Warrington, one of the students, passed first in England in the Senior Oxford Local Examinations, the Scripture portion of which consisted of the Gospel of St. Mark and the Acts, in Greek.

Ushaw is one of the largest of the Roman Catholic Colleges; boys passing from there to the Navy, Army, and other professions.

(2) By the kindness and courtesy of Mgr. Ward I am allowed to give the following facts in reference to the teaching of Scripture at St. Edward's College, Old Hall, Ware;—

Lower Third Form : Schuster's *Bible History*, Old Testament.

Upper Third Form : Schuster's *Bible History*, New Testament.

Lower Fourth Form : Richards' *Scripture History*, Text of one Gospel.

Upper Fourth Form : *St. Luke's Gospel*, St. Edmund's College Series.

Lower Fifth Form : Outline Paper on the Four Gospels and the Acts, and one Gospel for special study.

Upper Fifth Form : One Gospel, Greek Text; Outline of the

Old Testament (*e.g.*, from Accession of Saul to Babylonish Captivity, and one Book for special study).

Sixth Form and Upper Sixth : One Synoptic Gospel and St. John in Greek Text ; one Epistle of St. Paul ; Outline of Old Testament History (*e.g.*, from death of Joshua to death of Jehoshaphat).

"The above Syllabus," writes Mgr. Ward (in 1900), "will be completely in force next year." Meantime two-thirds of it were in force in 1900.

Again, a copy of the *Month*, the Jesuit organ, which lies before me as I write, includes the following advertisement :—

SCRIPTURE MANUALS FOR CATHOLIC SCHOOLS.

Edited by the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J.

Acts i.-xii. By the Very Rev. T. A. Burge, O.S.B. Second Edition. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s.

Acts xviii.-xxviii. By the Very Rev. Prior Burge, O.S.B. Third Edition. Crown 8vo, 124 pp., boards with Map, 1s. 6d.

St. Luke. By the Rev. J. W. Darby, O.S.B., and the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. Crown 8vo, 296 pp., boards, with Map, 2s. 6d.

St. John. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s.

St. Matthew. By the Rev. Joseph Rickaby, S.J. Crown 8vo, boards, with Map, 2s. 6d.

London : Burns & Oates (Limited), 28, Orchard Street, W.

Here we find a Jesuit Father editing New Testament Manuals ; of which two authors, it will be observed, are Benedictines and two Jesuits.

I may here also refer the reader to the splendid Scripture Handbooks known as "The St. Edmund's College Series," the type, the notes, and the maps being exceptional.

There exists in Rome at the present time an association known as *Pia Società di S. Girolamo per la diffusione del Vangelo*, and one of its publications lies open before me: the type is clear, it runs to five hundred pages, and comprises not only the text of the Gospels and the Acts in Italian, but indexes and other appendices which make it quite a remarkable production for the price (2*d.*).

Its centre is Chiesa di S. Maria in Aquiro at Rome, and the concluding pages of this work give us a long list of diocesan secretaries in Italy, Sicily, and elsewhere.

In this matter experience shows how difficult it is to hit upon and to preserve the right balance. There is on one side the extravagant and rationalistic use of the Bible resulting from the absence of all restraint, and there is the consequent reaction on the other side issuing in a restraint which is too severe. It is a question of proportion.

III.

Before concluding this part of my subject, some reference should be made to the Dominican College at Jerusalem, opened by the Fathers of this illustrious Order in the year 1892 for the study of Oriental languages and Biblical criticism.

To this centre students come from all parts of the world, to prepare themselves, by a special course of training, for the work of professors in the various houses of study belonging to the Order. The moving spirit of this great enterprise is the Père Lagrange, a personality of great mark and distinction.

One outcome of the movement is the now famous *Revue Biblique*, edited by the Fathers at the College. A special feature of this quarterly publication is an endeavour to discover a *modus vivendi* between the established findings of modern research and the traditional teaching of the Church on momentous questions relating to Inspiration and Revelation.

The Review, from the very outset, has kept itself in touch with the most recent Biblical criticism, and after nine years

of good work affords a suggestive commentary on the lines laid down in the *Encyclical Providentissimus Deus* (1893) on the Study of Holy Scripture. A special instance of this appears in the full and free discussion in its pages of a theory advanced by modern critics in relation to the Book of Tobias.

The theory in question suggests that this book finds its counterpart in other languages, and that it is in fact a Judaic version of an Oriental legend.

The writers in the Review, amongst whom we recognise the famous name of Père Schiel, an Oriental scholar of European reputation, while frankly recognising any element of truth there may be in this theory seek to relate it to that view of plenary inspiration to which Catholics are everywhere committed.

It may be interesting to set down, as I have in other cases, the course of Lectures ; for instance, in the year 1899-1900 (October to July) :—

COURSE OF LECTURES.

Theologia Dogmatica—De Sacramentis.

Theologia Moralis—De Justitia et de Religione.

Philosophia—Metaphysica.

Jus Canonicum.

Histoire des Juifs au temps de N.S.

Explication du livre des Juges.

Geographie de la terre sainte et topographie de jerusalem.

Archéologie biblique—Les monuments.

Langue hebraïque—Grammaire.

Langue grecque.

Langue araméenne.

Langue arabe.

Langue assyrienne.

Non-Catholic as well as Catholic professors are employed on the staff.

Visits are made to places of extraordinary interest in the Holy Land, such as Jerusalem, Gaza, Ascalon, etc.

IV.

I am not, of course, assuming that every theory on the subject of Inspiration or on other delicate aspects of controverted subjects will ultimately be approved, because for the present it is allowed, by the authorities. This is manifestly impossible in the very nature of things ; but it will be enough if what I have set down here and elsewhere shall serve to show that genuine efforts are made to allow sufficient elbow room for all who, in the course of their investigations, discover an "equal regard" for the deposit of faith on the one hand and for the grave problems imposed upon all of us by modern thought on the other.

That the Roman Communion, as such, is committed to a belief in the inspiration of the Bible in its entirety is a fact which can easily be sustained by reference to formal teaching of successive Councils and the explicit utterances of Leo XIII. ; and of all the ironies of history none is stranger to my mind than the extraordinary revolution that has come about in regard to our views of Scripture. The false tradition of two or three centuries had trained us to imagine that it was the Protestant world that has ever valued Holy Scripture, and that Roman Catholics depreciated it, and kept it in the background lest the reading of it might undermine belief in their own peculiar claims. Now, on the contrary, and within the last few years, Leo XIII. and the Roman Congregations have been roughly handled, and treated with much scorn and with scant respect for their over jealous care for the Bible, and for being hopelessly behind the times.

However this may be it is certain that neither now nor at any future time will Rome countenance any theory of partial inspiration ; the Encyclical of 1893 makes that plain, as its words will show :—

“Some of these writers” (in allusion to those who are attacking the books of Scripture) “display not only extreme hostility, but the greatest unfairness ; in their eyes, a profane book or ancient document is accepted without hesitation, while the Scripture, if they only find in it a suspicion of error, is set down with the slightest possible discussion as quite untrustworthy.

“It is true, no doubt, that copyists have made mistakes in the text of the Bible ; this question, when it arises, should be carefully considered on its merits, and the fact not too easily admitted, but only in those passages where the proof is clear. It may also happen that the sense of a passage remains ambiguous, and in this case good hermeneutical methods will greatly assist in clearing up the obscurity. But it is absolutely wrong and forbidden, either to narrow inspiration to certain parts only of Holy Scripture, or to admit that the sacred writer has erred. For the system of those who, in order to rid themselves of these difficulties, do not hesitate to concede that divine inspiration regards the things of faith and morals and nothing beyond, because (as they wrongly think), in the question of the truth or falsehood of a passage, we should consider not so much what God has said as the reason and purpose which He had in mind in saying it—this system cannot be tolerated. For all the books which the Church receives as sacred and canonical are written wholly and entirely, with all their parts, at the dictation of the Holy Ghost ; and so far is it from being possible that any error can exist with inspiration, that inspiration not only is essentially incompatible with error, but excludes and rejects it as absolutely and necessarily as it is impossible that God Himself, the Supreme Truth, can utter that which is not true.

“This is the ancient and unchanging faith of the Church, solemnly defined in the Councils of Florence, and of Trent, and finally confirmed and more expressly formulated by the Council of the Vatican.”

Such is the deliberate and precise language of Leo XIII.,

and before I go on to say further words about it, I should like, with every sentiment of love and respect, to address one question to those of my Evangelical brethren who entertain feelings of genuine horror towards Rome. Can you lay your hands on your hearts and say that one who could make such a statement in the face of the whole Church is likely to be the Anti-Christ of Prophecy? I do not think you can. I can scarcely believe that you would wish to do so.

And next, as to the relation of such an utterance to what is vaguely described as modern thought.

V.

And first, every Roman Catholic in the world is bound, as we have seen, to believe that the entire Bible is inspired.

Now, it will be said that this at once suggests difficulties in the light of modern thought and discovery. I shall, therefore, make some attempt to declare the attitude of the Roman mind upon this question; and this after holding conversations with various distinguished Roman teachers. Newman spent nearly twelve months in the preparation of his article in the *Nineteenth Century* (February, 1884) upon the subject of Inspiration, and this was followed later on by a carefully written postscript. In both cases he introduced some distinctions which may prove suggestive, and which are being worked out carefully by theologians, whether within or outside the Roman Communion. He calls attention to the identity of language used in the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican. "Even where a phrase is not easy to translate," he says, "the identity is preserved; for instance, the clause 'in rebus fidei et morum ad ædificationem doctrinæ Christianæ pertinentium,' not 'pertinentibus,' is found in both Councils."

Then he enters upon some distinctions. "Scripture is inspired in its length and breadth, and is brought into the compass of one volume by virtue of this supernatural bond; whenever, wherever, and by whomsoever written, it is all

inspired. Still we may ask the question, In what respect and for what purpose? When we speak of the Bible in its length and breadth we speak of it quantitatively; but this does not interfere with our viewing it in relation to the character, or what may be called the quality of the inspiration.

“According to the two Councils, Scripture is inspired as being the work of inspired men, the subject of faith and morals being the occupation or mission assigned to them and their writings, inspiration being the efficient cause of their teaching.”

Again, “Because a cup is full that does not enable us to determine what is the nature and the effects of the liquor with which it is filled; whether, for instance, it is nutritive, or medicinal, or merely restorative, and so, though Scripture be plenary inspired, it is a question still, for what purposes.”

“In a word, Inspiration of Scripture *in omnibus suis partibus* is one thing, *in omnibus rebus* is another.”

A distinguished Dominican, an ardent student of St. Thomas, in referring to Newman's words, said: “It is wonderful how he worked out his thoughts, but he had not quite reached the point that we are pressing now, viz., the careful distinction between revelation and inspiration.”

VI.

I will make some attempt now to draw out this distinction. And first “Revelation” shall be understood to signify—A divine manifestation and guarantee of a supernatural truth; that is, a truth not to be found out by reason.

Let us picture this in some concrete form.

A number of Jews, we will suppose, find themselves listening to the earnest exhortations of some preacher, who warns them that unless the nation repents and turns to God a heavy judgment will come upon it, in the form, let us say, of captivity. They are not moved by this; in fact, they treat it with evident scorn.

Many years after, however, the prophecy is fulfilled, and this at once throws the thoughts of this people back upon the preacher, and invests his utterance which they despised then with terrible force and import now. They reflect: "How true were those burning words we heard! We regarded the preacher as a fanatic then; but his words struck home in spite of us, and come up before us now, vivid as when they were first uttered." So they reflect. And now there is a movement, and one stands out from the crowd, and we behold him evidently solemnised and subdued by some overmastering thought. Follow him to his inner chamber: he sits down to write; and all that he writes is written under inspiration. The Holy Spirit is by him though you see Him not; in other words, he is a sacred writer speaking as he is moved by the Holy Ghost. He writes down many words; no thought of self in aught he thinks or says; for it is the Holy Spirit who is dictating. And what is it that the writer sets before himself? Or rather, what is it that the Holy Spirit sets before him? It is that very message which was despised at the point of time when it was uttered, but is recognised now as having been a message of God from Heaven. Recognised,—score a deep line beneath this word.

Thousands of people may have heard that message when it was first uttered; it may have been committed to writing by some one as a matter of curiosity or in order to hand down the everyday history of the time; and yet of all these thousands only one, and that one the writer before us, recognised,—underline the word again; recognised it as a "Revelation."

Here, then, we have the first note of an inspired man. A man writing under inspiration is a man who recognises revelation. Observe the distinction. In the case before us we have one man at one point of time, and another at another. The first receives a definite something at his point of time, from God; he is filled with it, he cannot contain himself until he is delivered of it. It is God's message, supernaturally

imparted ; and he opens his mouth and declares it ; it is Revelation.

The second, at his point of time, receives a glorious infusion of light from the Holy Spirit, and his illuminated intellect recognises.

Let us stand by the writer's side once again in that first moment before he turns towards his home ; his lips are moving ; he is saying words to himself. Let us hear them. "I intend to write what I have been enabled to recognise,—in order that future ages may have it before them to read."

We are still, then, with our second man, at his own proper point of time, and we know now what his second note is ;—the intention to transmit the revelation by writing. Thus the inspired writer is before us with two notes upon him.

- (1) He discerns and recognises that substantive thing which is called Revelation ; and it is under the illuminating influence of the Holy Spirit that he does so.
- (2) The intention to transmit it in writing is conceived within his mind ; and it is by the influence of the Holy Spirit that it is conceived.

Thus the Holy Spirit presides over the situation ; and the consequent writings are the outcome of inspiration.

VII.

And now let me suppose that one of the faithful is before us—wishing to believe ; but vexed in his spirit nevertheless. "I have a duty to the absolute truth, and I have no desire to evade difficulties. Nevertheless there is a great deal of fashion even in the followings of what is called modern thought ; and men are often sceptics in regard to Scripture, yet credulous in regard to those who would seem too lightly to disturb it. But let me be at once free and fair." So we may suppose him to reason. He then hears that some particular book in the Old Testament is now known to have been written

at a much later date than was once supposed ; at a comparatively modern date in fact. And this becomes a stumbling-block to him.

How, then, does the distinction come in to answer his difficulty ? " Authentic reëditing," is the answer.

At this point I will quote an illustration :—

"The prophecies of Esaias, for example, were disbelieved in his day. Again and again he threatened the Jews with captivity, but they thanked him with jeers. However, his words came true at last. In the day of exile we might well conceive that they recognised the truth of the holy man's warnings. To make amends for their past foolishness, as well as to keep his wise counsels ever before their thoughts, they brought their record of his sayings and sermons into one. Whoever, then, enlightened and moved by God, judged these discourses to contain a revelation, and intended to transmit this revelation by writing, was inspired. We must not be taken to mean that any writer is inspired who recognises a revelation and intends to transmit it ; otherwise we should find it difficult to deny inspiration to all subsequent editors of the sacred books. But inspiration when granted would run in these grooves. The inspired author would necessarily judge something to be a revelation, and would intend to transmit it."

This ultimate authentic re-editing might conceivably take place a thousand years after the point of time at which the revelation was imparted, and a thousand years also after the death of the one whose name stands at the head and front of the book in question. Now, let it be observed, my general aim throughout is Reunion ; and speaking more particularly, it is Reunion with the Holy See. The question is, then, Can the individual person whom we pictured at the outset say, on reading the statement I have set down, that he is able to do justice in his mind to genuine historical research on the one side, and to the claims of revealed truth in their most orthodox shape on the other ? In other words, does it, so far, enable him to be an honest believer, in the twentieth century ?

Let me assume that he answers in the affirmative, and I shall be encouraged to pursue this exposition.

Another difficulty may be the case of Genesis ; and another, more particular case,—the Sun standing still. I am, of course, only attempting to indicate lines of thought, and this in accordance with what I have been enabled to gather from reading and the conversations to which I have referred. And first, as to Genesis. Let me transcribe two propositions from the *Propædeudica ad Sacram Theologiam* of Cardinal Zigliara, another famous Dominican ; I give them from a quotation in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* :—

“In the forementioned documentary hypothesis (in regard to the Books of Moses), it must be borne in mind that—

“1. The acceptation of the contents of documents, inasmuch as they are, *i.e.* as regards their existence, accrued to Moses by natural means. . . . Consequently, on the part of the acceptation there was no revelation.

“2. But the contents of these documents, inasmuch as they are true, *i.e.* as regards the judgment on what is accepted, is not to be considered a judgment of a human kind which is liable to error ; for Moses was infallible in judgment with divine infallibility, and hence was divinely inspired with what was a revelation as regards the ‘judgment.’”

The writer after quoting the above goes on to say, “The Cardinal here lays down what we may term, for convenience’ sake, the theology of inspiration.”

Again, in regard to Genesis and indeed to the entire question, the problem is how to appreciate the relation between God and man.

In this connexion a suggestive passage from St. Thomas may set us thinking. “The same effect is not to be attributed to the natural cause and the divine agency as if it were partly from God and partly from the natural cause.” In fact, it is wholly from both, but in a different manner ; “even as the same effect is wholly attributed to the instrument, and wholly to the principal cause.”

Now, in the two propositions set down above (in regard to the Books of Moses) we recognise the theological doctrine, and in the development of this last quotation from St. Thomas we may discern the psychological doctrine of Inspiration.

Once more, these two doctrines appear to have been united by a French theologian in an article in the *Revue Thomiste* for March, 1895, entitled, "Une Pensée de Saint Thomas sur l'Inspiration Scripturaire." The drift of this is to show how "the famous school dispute rested primarily on the confusion of revelation with inspiration." One further step is to be recognised in the work of Père Lagrange, in a series of articles published in the *Revue Biblique* from 1895 to 1898.

The three theologians above mentioned were "above all else theologians." "Père Lagrange was dominantly a Biblical scholar; he had passed through the training of the *Summa* and had tasted its breadth and depth; yet he was and still is exegetist rather than theologian." He set to work, then, to "apply the principles of St. Thomas to some of the great difficulties of the Bible. His predecessors had laid down abstract laws. Critics, however, awaited something more than academic generalities. Whilst a theory remains in the lecture-room it is unassailable, or, what is much the same, unassailed. The only test of its strength and utility is to bring it into contact with the concrete Biblical difficulties which are driving critics from faith to a denial of all revelation. And it is to the honour of Père Lagrange that, in a reverent yet progressive spirit, he has attempted to reconcile Thomistic theology and the traditions of the Church with the latest products of sound Biblical criticism."

I proceed with the quotation from the article of Father McNabb, because it has a distinct bearing upon the study of Thomistic philosophy. "To appreciate fully," he writes, "the position he (Père Lagrange) and the other Thomists take up, we must presuppose the psychology and theology of the Master. Men who come unprepared with this *apparatus biblicus* are

not unlikely to give our deductions a hard name, calling them subtleties. . . . And, indeed, until the somewhat difficult philosophy of St. Thomas is made our own, any scientific account of the phenomena of inspiration must appear incomprehensible and almost incredible."

In regard, then, to the case of Genesis. "The question is not whether the first chapter is to be taken as a whole, literally or metaphorically. . . . The real question is, what does the inspired writer mean to put forward?" Perhaps the writer does not intend to put that chapter forward as more than a record of the Hebrew tradition "which stands out in contrast with neighbouring traditions by its unmistakable insistence on the fundamental truths of Natural Religion and those supernatural truths which could only come from revelation, viz., the existence of a personal God, the inherent goodness of matter and human nature, the spirituality and creation of the human soul, the mysterious lapse into sin, the need and promise of a Redeemer, and lastly, the doctrine, so much needed in the East, of the natural equality of the two sexes of the human race."

This suggests the distinction between the certainty of the mode and the certainty of the proposition. Thus, "the proposition—the universe was made in six periods of time—may or may not be absolutely false; but the quasi-modal proposition—'the common tradition holds that the earth was made in six periods of time'—may be absolutely true."

Thus we come to distinguish between the saying and the thing; the *dictum* and the *res*. Turn to another case; the case of Dives and Lazarus. I am not saying that this is a parallel case; it is another case; state it thus; "Dives had existence." Is this true? It is neither true nor untrue; and this although the language runs, "There was a certain rich man." But it is plainly true in the sense in which our Lord said it. If I remember rightly, this last illustration was employed by Dr. Gore in answer to the late Professor Huxley. If so, the undesigned coincidence, in the shape of illustration,

as between Father McNabb and Dr. Gore is the more interesting.

Once more, in regard to the case of the sun standing still. The question again might be—What did the writer mean to put forward? Perhaps it was this, "As the current opinion has it, the sun stood still." In any case it would not necessarily mean that it was absolutely certain, and still less that it was divinely revealed that the sun stood still.

On the whole, in this case, it might be said God watched over His people and by some slight intervention somewhat prolonged the day. But the more precise language of some thousands of years later could not have been anticipated without disturbing the whole course and the regular unfolding of the several sciences; nor would it have served the cause of truth or the purpose the writer had in hand so to anticipate it. God distinctly intervened and, as it may be said, the sun stood still.

So now our almanacks, on each distinct page, lay down the printed assertion, "Sun rises at 5.6 a.m., (or whatever the hour may be) and sets at 6.57." It may be asked, "Is that absolutely true?" And we reply, "Yes, absolutely true." But now look again at the statement, and say, "Is it absolutely true?" And we reply once more, "Certainly, those words are true in the sense in which the writer meant to put them forward."

Thus, as I understand the case, what is needed now is not reckless statements thrown out regardless of the faith and the feelings of others, but careful study of the modes of thought and an imaginative appreciation of the entire mental and moral atmosphere of those far distant times of which the earlier books of the Bible treat.

The Dominican is an intellectual, not a contemplative Order; and is understood to represent the advanced guard in the Roman Church. Those of their brethren who might be disposed to treat these difficult problems somewhat more cautiously gladly recognise them as such; whether all their

conclusions are destined to be ultimately accepted or not. But in any case they would appear to be well on the road to the ultimate solution of the more difficult problems.

SECTION V.—*The Roman Congregations.*¹

Much interest is excited from time to time by decisions of what are known as the Roman Congregations ; and since such decisions are discussed and criticised not merely in the correspondence columns but also in the leading articles of our newspapers, and are put forward as constituting insuperable difficulties in the way of reunion, it may be well to enquire, first, how the Congregations came into being ; next, upon what principle their decisions are based ; and, lastly, how those decisions are related to the special prerogative of infallibility which we have been considering.

I.

An immense weight of business, of course, presses daily upon the Pope ; and the Congregations were instituted, in the first instance, to relieve this pressure.

Various matters come up, from time to time, for settlement ; and in the exercise of his office the Pontiff seeks the help of certain committees to advise and otherwise assist him. Each committee devotes itself to some special department ; thus one committee or congregation will have to do with matters of doctrine, another with discipline, another with ritual. Matters having to do with the government of Regulars and Seculars, with the appointment of members of the Hierarchy, with questions relating to censures, or to the validity of disputed marriages, questions such as these come before the several committees or congregations who have been told off to deal with them. So far they may be said to correspond to

¹ *The Month*, October, 1884 ; "Plettenberg Notitia Cong."

the various departments of Government as we know it in England.

II.

1. The Index. Of all these various Congregations, the two which are familiar, at least by name, to ourselves in England are the Congregation of the Inquisition, and the Congregation of the Index.

The Congregation of the Inquisition was established by Paul III. in 1542, to check "the poison of the Lutheran heresy;" and is concerned with matters relating to heresy, schism, witchcraft, apostasy, and the abuse of the Sacraments; its chief office being to watch against the spread of false doctrine, whether by means of oral or written teaching. All books, therefore, suspected of unsound or dangerous teaching fall under its jurisdiction.

But this latter aspect of its work was found to involve so much labour that a Sub-Committee was appointed and thrown off, as it were, from the main body to devote itself to the question of books. It is this Sub-Committee that is now known as the Congregation of the Index, and, as such, is regarded as a disciplinary, and not a dogmatic body.

Now, as regards the Inquisition, three constituent parts may be said to compose the sentence which is passed by it.

1. "There is the dogmatic decision respecting the truth or falsity of the opinions expressed in the book, respecting its general tone and spirit, its loyalty or disloyalty, the effects it is likely to produce on the minds of the faithful at large, etc."

2. "There is the command issued to the author or to Catholics generally, based on this decision, and enjoining on the author the withdrawal of the book, or some similar act of submission to the authority of the Congregation, and on the faithful the duty of neither reading it themselves, nor of doing anything to promote its circulation."

3. "There is the penal sentence passed on the author

which may be either absolute, or conditional, and dependent on his compliance with the command enjoined upon him."

It appears to have been Benedict XIV., 1753, who laid down the principles to be followed by the Inquisition in this matter of suspected books.

- (a) The book is first to be carefully read and weighed by one of the Consultors, or the advisers of the Sacred Congregation. He marks what he considers to be the chief errors in it, and sends it with his opinion about it to the other Consultors.
- (b) At the next meeting of the Consultors the book is discussed; an expression of opinion is given by each Consultor, who also gives his vote upon the question of the justice or otherwise of the charge brought against the book, and the theological vote of censure he considers it to deserve, assuming that these charges are proved.
- (c) The results of the voting and a record of the opinions of these various Consultors are then forwarded to each of the Cardinals who compose the Congregation of the Inquisition, and it is they who have to pronounce sentence about the whole matter.
- (d) Their sentence having been pronounced, an account of the whole proceedings together with the sentence itself has to be submitted to the Pope for his sanction before the judgment can take effect.

There are many lesser matters in which the formal sanction of the Pope, without any minute examination on his part of the transaction, is considered sufficient. In such cases there is considered to be no exercise of Infallibility.

But where the matter is of great moment it is submitted to a meeting of the Congregation which takes place on a Thursday and over which the Pope himself presides in person. The Pope in this case acts as Prefect of the Congregation, and passes sentence in his own name after the Cardinals have voted

as to the reality of the charge and the punishment to be inflicted.

If the Pope goes on to take the further step of making the decree his own by inserting words in it to that effect, are we to say that under these significant circumstances the decree proceeds from his infallibility? This is a question upon which theologians have not as yet come to any determination. The Vatican Council, it should be remembered, was interrupted by the Franco-Prussian War precisely at that point of time when these further and more particular questions were coming up for discussion.

In the present instance, the question is whether the Pope, in confirming such decrees, acts as Head of the Congregation or as Head of the Universal Church.

At present theologians hesitate to answer this question, which is consequently left open.

On the whole, all decrees of congregations are to be obeyed, and more especially such decrees as we have alluded to.

But a distinction has to be observed between the decree which condemns speculative opinions and the decree which gives positive and practical commands. In the case of Galileo, for instance, a decree was passed condemning a certain speculative opinion, and, as the event proved, that decree was not in accordance with fact; notwithstanding this, it was still the duty of Galileo, *ex hypothesi*, to obey the practical command which enjoined upon him the duty of not teaching that opinion in public, unless and until the prohibition should be removed by the authorities. It is much the same with laws in the civil sphere; we obey them even where we feel sure they are unsatisfactory or unjust, looking forward, meantime, to some amendment which shall set them right in the future.

III.

Let us make some attempt, then, to discover and exhibit the broad principles of Government which will be found to underlie the decrees of the Congregations.

1. It is plain that our Lord deliberately withheld the teaching even of that which He knew to be certain definite truths, solely on the ground that His disciples were at that particular point of time not prepared to receive them. "I have many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now."

If, then, a human teacher, who is after all the mouthpiece of Him who is divine, should declare, "I have many things (among these being the discovery of the earth's motion round the sun) to say to you but you cannot bear them now; the proclamation of them at this particular point of time would throw all your beliefs into confusion, and therefore disorganise your entire life;" if a human teacher should speak thus would he not, other things being equal, have a divine and eternal principle to support him?

No man knows how to teach who merely knows what he has to teach. Revelation, instruction, teaching, are relative terms, and he must know his audience as well as his subject if he is to exercise any one of the functions to which these terms correspond.

Place yourself, in imagination, for a moment in a lecture-room.

You have your own platform to stand upon, with a black-board ready to your hand; and in the course of preparing what you have to say, you write certain points on the board beforehand.

So far all is well; but have you also proceeded to step down from your platform, to place yourself on the same level with your prospective audience, and after seating yourself successively in their respective chairs to regard your own lesson from their points of view? If not, how can you certainly know that they are able to see it at all as it should be seen?

It may appear in the event that some of your audience cannot see the board at all, and that others see it so imperfectly as to misread and so misunderstand what it has to teach.

Teachers, then, in every department, and especially in the department of religion, have to be warned against the danger

of neglecting this final but indispensable stage in the course of their preparation.

Apply this to revelation and the language of inspiration ; and since the Jesuits are generally understood to be the most rigid exponents of the orthodox position, view the question from their standpoint.

The editor of *The Month*, for instance, in expounding the position of the Congregations, lays down three principles by which they are guided in regard to the Holy Scriptures :— First, that there is a “ thus God said ” behind every statement of Scripture. Secondly, that what God says is true. Thirdly, that it is true in the sense in which He says it. And these principles are the inevitable outcome of the Papal Encyclical on the study of Holy Scripture (1893). It would be impossible for our brethren to be loyal to their own visible head and to hold less. Now, putting aside in this place, the first and second of these principles, it is the third which evidently provides some space for adaptation. Our Lord, then, might quote from the “ Books of Moses ” and in so doing He would not be unmindful of His actual audience. How were His hearers accustomed to regard those books ? They were accustomed to regard them as the books of Moses, and since the vital truth is that these books should be regarded as inspired and not that Moses should necessarily be their author, our Lord uses the phrase, whatever it may be, in a certain sense, that is, in the sense in which His actual audience would be then and there prepared to receive it ; and we say—Perhaps in fact Moses was not the author of those books, but our Lord’s words are nevertheless true,—in the sense in which He used them. It is not enough, then, on the one side to be champions of the new truth merely, and on the other hand merely to protect the pupil ; a true teacher combines in himself both attitudes at once.

2. If such caution and economy is necessary even in the case of ascertained truths, how much more surely must it be applied where a truth is still only in its hypothetical stage.

Thus Copernicus, who, it should not be forgotten, was an ecclesiastic and a Canon of the Roman Church, was allowed to lecture in Rome before an audience of two thousand scholars upon the new and at that time startling hypothesis of the earth's motion round the sun, and to dedicate his celebrated treatise *De Orbium Cælestium Revolutionibus*, published at Nuremberg in 1543, to Pope Paul III. Does it therefore follow that even sixty or seventy years later Galileo should be suffered to discharge that truth broadcast upon the general multitude? The Congregation, of course, made a distinct blunder as to the matter of fact, but even if they had not done so, especially when it is remembered that Galileo adopted a querulous tone and insulted the sacred text, would it necessarily be right to proclaim his thesis indiscriminately to the whole world? Might not our Lord's principle, "Ye cannot bear it now," rightly suggest delay?

Galileo's temper was not the temper of Copernicus, nor were their audiences in any case identical; and the distinction in the circumstance alters the character of the case.

However this may have been, a decree was published, and it was his duty, *ex hypothesi*, to obey it. That is:—

- (a) To cease teaching his thesis in public in deference to the authorities;
- (b) To continue to study it in private, and to believe in it in spite of them.

As regards the exercise of discipline in its most acute form, what is known as excommunication finds its counterpart within the physical plane, where the law tends to become more severe and stringent in proportion as we ourselves become more civilised; and in our own day an infected body is at once withdrawn from society, and relegated to the fever ward until such time as it shall recant and recover itself.

Here, again, we have consultants, a careful diagnosis, and a verdict duly pronounced and executed; the Congregation in this case being the Congregation of the Medical Index.

Now holiness and faith, of which it is the outcome, are to the soul what health is to the body; and the question is whether the multitude of persons in this case shall be suffered to come in contact with spiritual infection, or whether the sanitary, that is, the ecclesiastical authorities, shall intervene to prevent them.

In either case, whether the patient realises his condition or no, is not the question. Private judgment is severely overruled in the matter of the body, and it is thought necessary, *ex hypothesi*, to overrule it also in the matter of the soul.

IV.

This question of relativity, in its various aspects, deserves more attention, I think, than it generally receives.

You have been pursuing your own special line of study for years, and as you have progressed you have vaguely imagined that a general audience has perforce moved with you. But the truth, of course, is otherwise. However, you pursue your course; a succession of new truths is distilled into your mind, and you have had easy time for adjustments. But your finished results will find your hearer where you started, perhaps, and not where you are leaving off; and thus a blow which has been very gradually broken to yourself strikes with terrific and stunning effect upon him, and he falls. Thus all teachers are required to take an excursion into the minds of their hearers, and where they fail in this, authority which is interested in hearer and teacher alike steps in. But in such cases when a teacher is silenced and his books placed upon the *Index* a large proportion of the public are apt to entertain pity for him, which is natural; little concern for those on whose behalf the Church has intervened, which shows want of sympathy; and contempt for the authorities, which is for the most part unjust; the assumption being that, because they judge it right to stay the treatise, they therefore wish to stop the truth.

This position, in any case, is illustrated by a document of

peculiar and special interest bearing on the Copernican theory. It is in the form of a letter, and includes a quotation from Père Fabry, the learned Jesuit, and Penitentiary of St. Peter at Rome, which will serve to show how this principle of relativity was recognised at the particular period of time to which it relates :—

From a letter by — Hook (author of *Micrographia*, or “a small French Tract” lately written by M. Auzout), to a countryman of his, Monsieur L’Abbé Charles, on Object Glasses, etc.

“He also taketh occasion to intimate, that we need not scruple to conclude, that if these two *Planets* have *Moons* wheeling about them, as our *Earth* hath one that moves about it, the conformity of these *Moons* with our *Moon* does prove the conformity of our *Earth* with those *Planets*, which carrying away their *Moons* with themselves do turn about the *Sun* and very probably make their *Moons* turn about them in turning themselves about their *Axis*; and also, that there is no cause to invent perplex’d and incredible *Hypotheses* for the receding from this *Analogie* since (saith he) if this be truth, the Prohibitions of publishing this doctrine which formerly were caused by the offence of novelty, will be laid aside, as one of the most zealous doctors of the contrary opinion hath given cause to hope, witness *Eustachius de Divinis*, in his *Tract* against Monsieur Hugen’s *Système of Saturn*, p. 49, where we are inform’d that that learned Jesuit, *P. Fabry*, Penitentiary of *St. Peter* in *Rome*, speaks to this purpose.

It hath been more than once asked of your Chieftains whether they had a Demonstration for asserting the motion of the earth? They durst never yet affirm they had; wherefore nothing hinders, but that the Church may understand those Scripture-places that speak of this matter, in a *literal* sense, and declare they should

Ex vestris, usque Coryphæis non semel quæsitum est, utrum aliquam haberent demonstrationem pro *Terræ motu* adstruendo. Nunquam ausi sunt id asserere. Nil igitur obstat, quin loca illa in sensu literali Ecclesia intelligat, & intelligenda esse declaret, quam diu nulla demonstratione contrarium evincitur;

be so understood as long as the contrary is not evinced by any demonstration, which, if perhaps it should be found out by you (which I can hardly believe it will), in this case the Church will not at all scruple to declare that these places are to be understood in a figurative and improper sense, according to that of the poet,
Terræque Urbesque recedunt.

quæ si forte aliquando â vobis excogitetur (quod vix crediderim) in hoc casu nullo modo dubitabit Ecclesia declarare, loca illa in sensu figurato et improprio intelligenda esse, ut illud Poetæ,
Terræque Urbesque recedunt.

“Whence this Author concludes that the said *Jesuite* assuring us that the *inquisition* hath not *absolutely* declared that those Scripture-places are to be understood *literally*, seeing that the *Church* may make a contrary declaration, no man ought to scruple to follow the *Hypothesis* of the *Earth’s motion*, but only forbear to maintain it in *publick* till the prohibition be called in.”¹

It is on grounds such as these that some priests in our Communion, if I understand it rightly, have given up, at least for the present, the ceremonial use of incense; the Bishops having practically said to them, “You may keep your opinions, but you must give up your incense.” Nor would there be any inconsistency surely in reversing this decision later on, and removing the prohibition; on the ground that the people were by that time “able to bear it.”

As regards the famous instance of the Copernican theory, to which allusion has already been made, it is difficult for us at this distance of time to realise how confusing and even stunning the announcement of the new theory must have proved when it was first made to the world at large, and how necessary it therefore was for those in authority to break the blow as far as they justly might, by allowing students to follow the hypothesis in private, but not to publish it abroad until after it had passed out of the hypothetical stage into the light of established truth.

¹ *Phil. Trans.*, i., No. 4, June 5, 1665, pp. 74, 75.

SECTION VI.—*Jesuits.*

Every one will recognise the influence of a background upon the person who is placed in front of it; and prejudice manufactures a certain lurid background against which it insists upon viewing individuals or societies that, for reasons, whether good or bad, are not agreeable to itself. Thus Leo XIII. does, in fact, present to the world a grand personality and a character of majestic proportions; but we place him in front of our background, the background of "Popery," and he at once appears either hateful or grotesque. His various Encyclicals, and more particularly his beautiful treatise on *Humility*, go for nothing; prejudice has been beforehand, and has a cynical explanation for them all. And yet is he not a baptised member in the same mystical Body as ourselves? and is there not evidence at hand, which is proper to the case, for all men of good will who desire to examine it?

And so with the Jesuits who, perhaps, have been subjected to graver misrepresentations than any other society that could be named; in 1841, when the cholera was raging in Rome, and the members of the society were devoting themselves with extraordinary zeal and courage to the poor sufferers, an explanation was forthcoming at once: "See what they do to gain influence."

It is in vain that they plead for the inductive method, and ask to be photographed as they are; they must be photographed in front of our background or not at all.

A short time back, for instance, a distinguished writer gravely assured the world that the allusion, in Cardinal Newman's famous letter, to "an insolent and aggressive faction," was directed against this famous society. "'Their insolent faction,' as Newman labelled them for all time." So he wrote; but what had Newman himself to say on the matter? "As to the Jesuits," he wrote (March 22nd, 1870), "I wish distinctly to state that I have all along separated them in my mind, as a body, from the movement which I so much deplore.

What I meant by a faction, as the letter itself shows, was a collection of persons drawn together from various ranks and conditions in the Church." And again, four years later, in another letter: "It is true that I have ever held in veneration, and regarded with affection and gratitude, various members of that wonderful society. . . "

In questions of this kind it is such natural and spontaneous evidence from men of good will that is best worth having.

Hope Scott, besides being one of the leading barristers of his day, the friend of Gladstone and Newman, was also distinguished by a peculiar uprightness and beauty of character; and his admiration for the Jesuits, from the time of his conversion up to the day of his death, twenty-four years later, was one of the conspicuous things about him. He loved to be ministered to by them, and was so ministered to up to the last. And so again with Ambrose de Lisle, of whom Gladstone said that he was "an Israelite indeed in whom was no guile."

"I have always felt," De Lisle writes, "a strong affection for the Jesuits, having in my intercourse with them found them to be pious, interior, enlightened confessors, and prudent advisers." And Mr. Capes, himself a writer of great candour, alludes to Perrone, the distinguished Jesuit theologian, as "a man of much learning, ability, and candour;" and of Mazio, another member of the society, he writes: "I have never met with a man of a fairer and more dispassionate judgment, both as to persons and opinions."

"As a person acquainted with some Jesuits," writes Mr. Andrew Lang, "one may say that one would just as soon distrust soldiers, or barristers, or squires, *en bloc*, as distrust Jesuits. If ever one has met sportsmanlike fairness in the discussion of historical points which excite partisanship it is among members of the Society of Jesus."

And Lord Herries spoke recently in the same sense, at the annual meeting of the Catholic Union of Great Britain: "For his part he had had the advantage and honour during eight years of being educated at Stonyhurst (the Jesuit College);

and many of the Fathers had been his school-fellows, and he asserted there was no more loyal or honourable set of men in England than the Jesuits (cheers).” “I myself,” writes Father Gerard, “have been a Jesuit for forty-five years; for a quarter of a century I have been admitted amongst the ‘Professed,’ who form the very core of the Society; I have been placed in an office in which any secrets of policy must necessarily be known to me; I have been in constant and confidential communication with the General of the Order himself, both written and verbal, and can say with confidence that I fully know his mind on all points. As the result of my experience, I know that were we to do any of the things alleged against us we should flagrantly disobey both the rules which we have pledged ourselves to observe and the peremptory commands of the superiors whom we have vowed to obey. I know that neither I myself, nor any Jesuit I ever knew, would continue in this Order for half an hour did we find it to be in any respect what it is represented as being; and I am quite sure that all would be utterly at a loss to comprehend how men could be induced to renounce all that is most attractive on earth by the prospect of thereby becoming children of perdition tenfold beyond the rest of men.”

And the famous Père de Ravignan exclaims (1843): “avec étonnement et avec tristesse, ‘Mes frères des Etats-Unis, d’Angleterre, et de Hollande sont libre et tranquilles; pourquoi ne le suis-je pas comme eux? . . . Je ne fais pas une démarche. Je ne prononce pas une parole qui ne doive être violemment détournée de son vrai but, de son vrai sens. Je ne me nommais pas; j’étais coupable, hypocrite. Je me nomme; je suis coupable. Je suis Jésuite: cela explique tout. Nous sommes pour la plupart connus en cent endroits. Nous avons parlé en public, en particulier; des milliers de personnes nous ont suivis, entendus. On ne peut rien citer, contre nous: nous sommes Jésuites; tout est dit. . . .’” And again: “Nous subirons donc jusqu’à la fin ce joug de calomnies et d’outrages. Nous nous inclinons sous la main divin

qui nous éprouve : nous trouverons notre force dans nos épreuves mêmes, et sûrs de notre conscience, devant Dieu, notre cœur ne faiblira pas."

Now, when passages of this kind are quoted by an Anglican, there is a disposition in some quarters to ask how it concerns us what the sentiments about this illustrious society may happen to be. But the answer to this is obvious ; if it is the business of any one and every one to traduce them, any one and every one may evidently make it his business to defend them. Moreover, there is a stronger and better reason at hand, since the rule in the Christian society is that when one member suffers other members should suffer with it ; and so in regard to the grave misrepresentations of the Jesuits which are ever coming to hand, they affect the society itself, of course, in the first instance, but the whole Christian society also is affected by them in the event.

In quite recent times, for instance, what is described as "The Jesuit Oath" has been printed *in extenso* in one of our leading daily papers, in good faith, of course, and made the subject of a leading article. We know this ; but we do not all of us yet know that this document is "the malicious and slanderous fabrication of a notorious scoundrel, the worthy ally of Titus Oates, one of the most disreputable villains recorded in history." And yet so it is, and no such oath has ever been taken by a Jesuit. All vows ever taken by Jesuits may be found in the *Institutum Soc. Jesu*. (British Museum, press mark 1230 h.—vol. i. pp. 403, 404).

Moreover, there are members of the society to be found in their own centres in England ; and they are accessible to all who desire to know the truth about them. When, therefore, any of those false and lying fabrications about the Jesuits, which are only too familiar to us in England, come in our way ; fabrications, for instance, such as were entertained a year ago (1901), when it was gravely asserted that a young lady in Spain had been kidnapped by members of the society and immured in a convent—a rumour that was absolutely false in

every syllable of it, it is possible for any one of good will to ascertain the truth by betaking himself at once to headquarters. For the rest, it is important to remember that assertions and sentiments are not necessarily true because a great number of persons indulge in them. Strong men will ever be found to make strong enemies and to attach to themselves the passionate devotion of strong friends. It was so with the perfect Man ; the majority all along His day were against Him ; they had an evil motive to suggest for all He did, and He was formally and solemnly sentenced to death in the event. But the majority were wrong, nevertheless. And when we step down to the lower plane of merely human beings, the same phenomenon will ever confront us. It is a mark of greatness that it is impossible for any one to be indifferent to it ; and whether we agree or not with the constitutions of the Society of Jesus—and the truth, in most cases, is that we know nothing whatever about them—whether its rules are what we should all of us follow or be in sympathy with is a fair question for debate ; and some, it is plain, are jealous of the Jesuits for reasons which they believe to be good ; supposing them to occupy apparently the position of an *imperium in imperio* ; this, of course, may be regarded as an open question. But there is surely no question as to their integrity of character ; as to the great work they have done and are doing for education in many parts of the world ; or as to their magnificent achievements in the mission field.

The constitutions of the society have excited the admiration of thousands of learned and holy men ; so considerable a statesman as Richelieu regarded them as a work of genius ; and they were, in fact, the outcome of extraordinary deliberation and prayer. To illustrate the care devoted by St. Ignatius to their preparation, among his papers appeared one laying down eight reasons for one view and fifteen for another ; and on one occasion he is said to have devoted forty days to prayer for enlightenment upon one special point.

Those who are interested in the society should, of course,

study the life of the founder, and the rules and constitutions he laid down. But over and beyond this there should be contact with individuals with a view to personal knowledge.

Meantime it is not always remembered, in regard to prejudice as a whole, that it is contrary to the will of God and to the principles of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

SECTION VII.—*Indulgences.*

The subject of indulgences is everywhere acknowledged to be difficult and obscure ; but it is possible at least to remove some misunderstandings in regard to it.

1. Sin. An article in the *Dublin Review*, a few years back, called attention to a distinction between the Catholic and the Protestant view of sin.

The Catholic says : " Sin is the cause of sinfulness."

The Protestant says : " Sinfulness is the cause of sin."

According to the former view, when a man commits a sin he thereby " initiates in his own case a new spiritual condition, a condition which, unless removed, entails irreversible evil consequences. When this condition is removed, *e.g.* through contrition and divine pardon, these, its primary consequences, are necessarily removed with it, but the fact of a residuary penalty still remaining attached to what might be called an attempted moral suicide is perfectly conceivable ; while still further (such a penalty being held to subsist, quite apart from any continued attachment to his sin, on the part of the sinner) its remission or mitigation, by a simple act of divine clemency, is perfectly conceivable likewise."

On the other hand, according to the Protestant view, " sin becomes the mere token of a previous state of involuntary sinfulness. To sin in this sense no penalty could conceivably be attached which would outlast the sinful condition which gave it rise."¹

¹ *The Metaphysical Basis of Protestantism.*

2. Punishment. The next point is the punishment which follows upon sin.

(1) Now, hell is the proper home of wilful sinners, and the circle of hell is the circle of eternal punishment; one who has sinned is thereby liable to this punishment until contrition on his part and pardon on the part of God have secured absolution from guilt and from eternal punishment. Indulgences do not touch this circle.

(2) On the other hand, there is another circle distinct from this and remote, the circle of temporal punishment; and it is with this circle and only with this circle that an indulgence is concerned.

When David's sin had been brought home to him, and when he had conceived in himself a godly sorrow for it, Nathan announced to him the pardon of God. "The Lord hath put away thy sin." David was then and thereby forgiven, and then and thereby saved from eternal punishment.

But at this point we come upon a "nevertheless," and find ourselves looking in the opposite direction and towards another and wholly different circle, the circle of temporal punishment; and an indulgence waits to hear this "nevertheless" before it presumes to come upon the scene; until that turning-point has been passed an indulgence is as a mere intruder, powerless to act in any way whatsoever. Thus the notion that an indulgence is a leave to commit sin is monstrous and false; and every Roman Catholic in the world knows it to be such.

So far is clear; of two circles of punishment, the temporal and the eternal, an indulgence deals only with the former.

After David's forgiveness he was no longer liable to eternal punishment; but some measure of temporal punishment still awaited him "nevertheless." "Nevertheless the child that is born unto thee shall die."

Here we see how a man who has been forgiven may still have to undergo some temporal punishment; and the question

is how and how far an indulgence can reduce, or relieve him of, such punishment.

(3) Purgatory. The Pope is understood to be the centre of that portion of the Church that we can see; that is, *ex hypothesi*, his jurisdiction is restricted to this present world. In other words, while Christ is the head of the entire society of Christians wheresoever they may find themselves, He is understood to have deputed St. Peter and his successors to act as the supreme visible shepherd of these Christians so long as they remain on earth. This being so, the Pope's jurisdiction does not extend to purgatory; and "the application of indulgences to the souls in purgatory is only *per modum suffragii*, that is, it is a ransom offered, admittedly sufficient, but the application of which in this or that degree, to this or that person, is not covenanted, though confidently expected in answer to the Church's prayer."

Temporal punishment, whether in this world or in the next, is applied to two purposes; so far as it annuls or makes satisfaction for guilt, it is said to be expiatory; so far as it cleanses and educates character, it is said to be formative; and so far as it is formative, that is, so far as it is the will of God that a particular soul should undergo pain such as is necessary to educate it for heaven, an indulgence cannot touch it.

3. An Indulgence. The question still remains, What is an indulgence? and I will make some attempt to provide materials for an answer.

The prodigal son separated himself from his father and from his home by wilful rebellion, that is, by sin. Subsequently he made a true repentance, and his father fell upon his neck and kissed him (absolution); he now knew himself to be forgiven. Let us suppose that his father had then addressed him thus: "You are now forgiven, and without that forgiveness you would have been banished for ever from your home; 'nevertheless,' when it is remembered how much of my money you have squandered, I think you will see that you deserve some punishment (temporal punishment); you shall

therefore set yourself to work to earn two hundred pounds (expiation).”

The next moment, however, his sister comes upon the scene. She has endeared herself to her father more and more as the years have passed (grown in grace), until it has become difficult for him to refuse her anything (“The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much”). She now makes a request and asks if she may endeavour to obtain a portion of the sum, and thereby reduce the amount her brother has to earn. (May I gain an indulgence on his behalf?)

To this the father replies: “You have been a good child; and I will accept this service of yours, on behalf of your brother.” “I am not forgetting, dear father,” the child breaks in, “that I owe everything to you; it was you who gave me capital to start with, a good constitution, and the power to do any work whatsoever; so that it is, after all, of thine own that I shall be giving thee. Accept it, then, in that sense, and for the benefit of a brother who is so dear at once to you and to me.”

Thus the good works and intercessions of God’s dear children, that is, of the saints, are ever accumulating, through the mediation of Christ, a treasury of merits; and when an indulgence is granted on certain conditions—and certain conditions are always attached to the granting of an indulgence—those who fulfil these conditions are said to have a share in these merits, and temporal punishment, either their own or another’s, as the case may be, is thereby reduced.

Some people receive a large share of temporal punishment in this world; a long and severe illness, for instance, or a series of misfortunes; but had indulgences been gained and offered on their behalf the measure of these might have been reduced. Again, where a large measure of temporal punishment has been meted out on this side of the grave, the soul may wake up in the next world to find there is no more of such punishment to be endured, and may pass immediately to the heaven of the divine bliss.

When we read that an indulgence of so many days may be gained on certain conditions, it signifies that so much temporal punishment will be remitted as would have been remitted by the same number of days of canonical penances formerly imposed by the Church.

However difficult it may be to understand, and still more to expound, such a doctrine as this, explanation will at least serve to remove some of the graver misunderstandings that have obscured its proper meaning and purpose.

SECTION VIII.—*Intention.*

The doctrine of Intention is sometimes regarded as a difficulty. Two views are held and permitted within the Roman Communion.

1. I can best describe one of these by faithfully recording the *vivâ voce* account I had of it from a Roman theologian.

“Let us suppose a person were brought to me to be baptised. I might say : I do not think this is of the slightest use ; you must bear that in mind. Nevertheless, there is a Sacrament of the Church known as Baptism, and, of course, I am acquainted with the necessary form. Very well, that is Baptism ; and although I do not myself believe in this, I am willing to baptise you.”

In this case the person would be considered as validly baptised ; because the minister intended to do what the Church does, and for this purpose made use of the form the Church prescribes.

Thus, you will see, the Church protects the laity, by being jealous as to the form.

The above represents the inference that I drew ; and I trust I have not misrepresented the position.

2. What I understand to be the more generally received view is as follows :—

The priest has received from our Lord the power of order

over the Sacraments. In connection with this power a certain order of words and ceremonies is prescribed.

Now let us suppose that he finds himself standing opposite to some bread and wine. Are we to conclude that if he happened there and then to pronounce the particular words of Consecration, the actual Consecration would result? No; but why not? Because although he is reciting the words he is not doing so with the intention of Consecrating. Now, an evil-minded priest might withhold the proper intention whilst performing the external act, and he would thereby defraud the faithful.

But our Roman brethren say that although this is possible in the abstract it is practically non-existent. They remind us of "the lynx-eyed watchfulness with which the Church guards the sacraments," as is witnessed by her oftentimes insisting upon rebaptising those who go to her from us. They assert that practically "the risk from past withholding of intention must be deemed less than the risk from improper changes in matter and form or from lack of Ordination."

There is not space, of course, to go further into the question; my aim here is to map out the country of Reunion, so that we may see where we are.

And I should myself say that the Roman position in this case suggests another instance of balance and proportion; her severity in the matter of intention being duly balanced by severity in guarding and protecting other aspects of the Sacramental system. And if this be so, since we acknowledge her orders, it is important that we should fall into line as far as we possibly can with the principles that in her judgment should be attached to them.

SECTION IX.—*Scandals.*

Our Lord said two things about scandals: first that they would certainly come; and secondly, "Woe to that man by

whom the offence cometh"; and here, perhaps, more than anywhere else it is necessary to cultivate a sense of proportion.

The number of scandals to be expected will be in proportion to the number of people before us, and the virtues of one place or of one period must be brought in to counterbalance the vices of another.

I.

The lives of some Popes, for instance, have been shocking; but to judge all the rest by these is to do violence to the principle of a true perspective. The character of John XII. appears black as hell; but, on the other hand, later on we have Benedict VIII. coming upon the scene to lighten this darkness; and he is described as fearing "neither weariness nor exertion to restore to his high office the value it had lost." Then come two bad Popes in succession, and after these we have Gregory VI., and next to him, the grand and commanding personality of Hildebrand (Gregory VII.), "the holy athlete of the Christian faith." Let any one think steadily of all that we owe, that the whole Church owes, to the spirit of this one Pope for the great and far-reaching work that he set himself to achieve, and the value of balancing the evil with the good will at once appear. And so in the civil sphere, it is a matter for wonder at first that the principle of monarchy should have survived such a reign as that of Henry VIII.; and to pass from the reign of Charles II. to that of our late most gracious Queen is like passing from one world to another. And so, again, in our several parishes, apart from the shortcomings of the best of us, if the subject were not so uncongenial, we should be astonished and shocked at the number and extent of the scandals that have stained more or less every diocese in England, and that within even a comparatively short compass of time.

Nothing, indeed, is more difficult in all these cases than to rid ourselves of the surprise we feel at sin. This is one of

the great arguments in natural religion for God, and righteousness, and Heaven ; that scandals in the Church and beyond it, although no age or part of the world that we can recall has been without them, still come as a shock to the mind, and continue to be a constant source of amazement and perplexity to us ; as though they were alien to the essential nature of things, which of course they are. The danger in such cases is lest we should be carried away by our first impulse, and be led to attribute the scandal to the institution, and not to the individual.

Not a few of our most serious schisms can be traced to the fact of these shocks, and to the further fact that men did not give themselves time to get over them. And yet the principle is clear, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you hath a devil?" Again, "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat, therefore do whatsoever they bid you, but do not ye after their works ; for they say and do not." The "therefore" is attached to Moses' seat, and not to Moses' sins.

Thus, with such a vast and complex question as the one before us, it is necessary to appreciate, if I may so express it, the proper function of scandal ; how far we may take steps to counteract it, and where, from the very nature of things, we are compelled to stop.

The question is not whether there may not be at any particular time a corrupt priesthood, and that sometimes infecting a vast tract or continent of the Church, but whether the authorities are acquiescing in it, and whether it finds any sanction in the principles of the Church itself. It is a fact of experience that David is never allowed, in any age of the Church, to remain long in sin without Nathan coming forward to rebuke him for it.

Just as the world, then, is full of scandals, and the lamentations, mourning, and woe that follow upon them, and yet suicide, or the act by which we summarily cut ourselves off from it, is accounted a sin ; so, on the smaller scale of institutions within the world, we must be prepared to endure in spite

of that succession of shocks which scandal will certainly inflict upon us, and not allow them to betray us into schism.

II.

The time has now come to draw these considerations to a close.

My aim throughout has been to recognise the virtue of fact, and thereby to place the enterprise of reunion on a scientific as distinguished from a sentimental basis.

It is a fact that we are divided ; and it is a fact that God meant us to be one. Some change in the present order of things is therefore required if we are to conform to the will and purpose of our Lord.

Again, when we come to ask how this change is to be effected, we are confronted by facts which deserve to be recognised ; the fact, namely, that Rome cannot formally change, and the further fact that during the last three hundred years change has been one of the characteristics of Anglicanism. Furthermore, it is a fact that ecclesiastical history comes down to us with certain proportions upon it ; a prominent visible figure appearing first in the person of our Lord Himself, next in the person of St. Peter, and afterwards and continuously in the occupant of St. Peter's See ; and that this Primacy of the Holy See appears and is recognised within the compass of the Primitive Church, and so far has some relation to the Anglican Rule of Faith.

Again, it is, I think, a fact that the Church of England was forced into an attitude of separation in the first instance, and nourished on heretical teaching imported from other countries afterwards. "It may be disagreeable," writes Professor Gairdner, "to trace the Reformation to such a very ignoble origin, but facts, as the Scottish poet says, are fellows you can't coerce."

That the genuine sources of history have only recently become accessible is an acknowledged fact ; and it is a fact that since the century of the Reformation old things have

passed away and all things have become new. And, if we are to interpret history in the light of that development which is the ruling idea of our own time, is it even straightforward to persuade ourselves, and to try also to persuade others, that the conditions of the twentieth century can resemble, even remotely, those of the sixteenth ; or that reunion, at least in Western Christendom, can revive all the old conditions and circumstances of four hundred years ago ? None of us, whether individuals or corporations, can live in an exhausted receiver. The great river of progress flows on and gathers force as it continues to flow ; meantime the living bodies on its surface, although they need not lose their identity, must to some extent float with it. And if it was force that effected the wrench between England and the Holy See three hundred years ago, it is certainly a fact that the separation is encouraged and maintained mainly by prejudice and misunderstanding to-day.

Again, it is a fact of experience that post-Reformation history discovers a progressive multiplication of sects on the part of those who have separated from the Apostolic See, and that the spirit of division is threatening once more to stop the path of education in the opening years of a new century. Such considerations as these justify me, I think, in directing the attention of those who are interested in this question to the study of that particular aspect of it that appears in the title of this essay. How the proportions of Christendom are to be recovered is a problem that belongs to the future ; meantime the problem of jurisdiction is the urgent question of the moment. And it is possible that the final solution of our difficulties may discover itself in a careful and precise distinction between temporals and spirituals—a distinction such as presented itself to the mind of Convocation when advances were first made to it by Henry VIII., and when the same body made its first advances to Queen Elizabeth.

But over and beyond the particular question that is before us, there is the atmosphere in which we are asked to discuss it :

and although there is still much that we may deplore in the controversial temper of our times, it will not be denied that men are everywhere coming to have a firmer hold upon the divine principle of charity, the charity that covers a multitude of sins, and that believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things—the very bond of peace and of all virtues. Only some are able to take part in the discussion ; all can do their part in promoting the temper and spirit that are proper to it.

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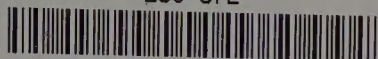
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